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Mladenov Queried by BTA on Turkish Relations

AU0806175089 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 8 Jun 89

["BTA Reporter Interviews Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 8 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria, told a BTA reporter:

"Bulgaria recently adopted a new legal framework consistent with the requirements of the processes of renewal in this country in the spirit of the Viennese concluding document. It enables all Bulgarian citizens to travel wherever they wish, to whichever part of the world.

"In his May 29 statement Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, elucidated some of these issues in the light of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. He called on Turkey to open its borders in compliance with the international standards and agreements, the way Bulgaria has done, to everybody, including all Bulgarian Muslims who want to go to Turkey for a short-term stay or for permanent residence.

"Bulgaria assesses in positive terms the fact that Turkey responded to this appeal, opened its borders and began to accept the Bulgarian citizens who wish to visit it in the spirit of the Vienna accords.

"This move created conditions to start a gradual normalization of Bulgaro-Turkish relations and to settle a number of problems between the two countries. The development of bilateral cooperation in spheres like economics, science, culture, ecology, etc. would be our joint contribution to inter-Balkan cooperation.

"Such an approach would be an example of how the CSCE accords of Helsinki, Madrid and Vienna can serve not only to improve the climate in Europe and in the world at large but also in a bilateral aspect, particularly between Bulgaria and Turkey.

"Difficulties may arise along this road, but the Bulgarian side will try to overcome them. Bulgaria would like that those of her citizens who are leaving for other countries, Turkey included, would keep a good feeling for their native land. In future, too, the Bulgarian side will actively participate in all aspects of the Helsinki process, including its human dimension and contacts between people from different countries."

Turkish Ambassador Attends Farewell Reception

AU0906164089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jun 89 p 6

[Text] Egon Rommel, doyen of the Sofia Diplomatic Corps and GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, gave a reception at the "Sofia" VIP Hotel in Sofia last night. The occasion for the reception was the upcoming departure of Omer Lutem, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to Bulgaria.

Moscow Correspondent on Congress Proceedings

AU1206073789 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 23, 7 Jun 89 p 7

[Article by Asen Geshakov, BTA correspondent in Moscow: "Will the Soviets Take Power?"]

[Text] It is impossible to guess what John Reed would have written if he could have been present at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, but I am somehow convinced that the title of his famous book should be the motto of the report on the most important event of 1989. The Congress of People's Deputies is in session. Since the very first meetings of the Congress it became evident that restructuring is expected to catch up with glasnost, its own offspring. This seems difficult, but feasible. In spite of the total lack of parliamentary experience at the beginning of the session, the supreme forum of deputies elected by the people developed at unprecedented speed. Following the euphoria of enjoying unlimited freedom of speech, the deputies did not waste too much time in realizing the important meaning of this freedom. The symptoms of "the infantile disease of democracy," such as hastiness and overwhelming emotions, that were manifested in the first days of the session were soon replaced by more common sense and moderation in their ensuing statements.

Mikhail Gorbachev's nomination for the post of head of state was confirmed without any hesitation, but not without discussion. He was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet with 95.6 percent of the votes. This is how the Congress confirmed his leadership in the process of restructuring and acknowledged his political, organizational, and moral qualities. The same applies to the confidence vote expressed for the CPSU as the initiator of the revolutionary changes. The deputies, however, decided not to create a precedent for alternative presidential appointments.

Nevertheless, a day later, the incorruptible subtleties of the current Constitution made them feel slightly disappointed about being unable to directly influence the president's election and the forming of his team. However, experience has to be accumulated, it does not come all of a sudden. This commonplace truth was recalled last week when the Congress was divided into a "democratic minority" and a "conservative majority." The radical ideas and proposals of the relatively small, but closely knit and well-prepared minority groups from Moscow, Lenigrad, and the Baltic republics were compromised by the rest of the deputies who demonstrated the well-known opportunities of the voting machinery. Lenin's slogan, "Let us divide before we unite!" built a bridge across the gap.

Following Gorbachev's report on the basic principles of the country's domestic and foreign policy and the ensuing debates, it was revealed that the level of the decisions proposed by the "minority" are going beyond the horizons that can be seen from the trenches of the "majority." For the sake of the common goals the consolidation was recognized as inevitable. For the first time since several decades, the conviction that belonging to the majority is a certificate of basic truth was shaken at its very foundations.

The instability of state finances, rapidly deteriorating inflation, an intensified shortage of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods, the ruin and decline of the villages, the disastrous ecological situation, insufficient social protection of broad strata among the population—this was by far the incomplete list of the problems on which the voters are expecting the Congress to work out a package of urgent measures. The essence of the most frequently proposed prescriptions for improvement can be reduced to the recently popular formula of the 3 "D"s—namely democracy, de-monopolization, and decentralization. The tragic accident which occurred last Saturday in the Asha-Ufa sector of the Kuybishev railroad line presumably will add another "D"—namely discipline.

Nevertheless, nothing realistic and feasible can be achieved without a law-based and categorical determination of power: party, state, legislative, executive, and judicial power. It is becoming increasingly evident in following the work of the Congress from day to day that the deputies are reaching for this weapon in trying to break the powerful backbone of the command-administrative system, which suffered considerable setbacks over the 4 years of restructuring, but also demonstrated its considerable viability and possibility of regeneration.

Will the Soviets take power? This is a question of concern both for the authorities and the Soviets, despite the fact that, since 1917, formally the soviets are supposed to be identical to the authorities. The second stage of the political reform came into force on 25 May. The great hopes and expectations are laid down on the table together with the credits of the people's confidence in the restructuring process.

Western Powers Criticized at Paris Conference

AU1006155689 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 23, 7 Jun 89 p 11

[Svetoslav Terziev, BTA correspondent from Paris: "Human Rights—Elsewhere"—special for ATNENI]

[Text] It is the easiest thing to defend human rights in foreign countries. This is the impression created by the statements of certain Western delegations at the Paris conference on the human dimension aspects of the CSCE. Against the general background of constructive spirit and mutual confidence, created by the benevolent approach of most countries, the stand of the United States, Great Britain, and Turkey distinguished itself in a particularly drastic manner. These delegations fiercely engaged in lecturing the socialist countries on how to improve relations with their own citizens, and totally "forgot" about the situation in their own homes.

The bloc mentality has not yet been overcome. It still exists today, no matter how obsolete it may appear. The consolidation of the new political thinking seems to have achieved greater progress in the spheres of military security and economic relations between states with different social systems, than in humanitarian cooperation. As regards the human relations sphere, the West continues to believe in the doctrine of talking from a position of strength. By proclaiming that its social model should be copied, certain leading Western states are not ashamed of assuming the role of teachers and judges, who are didactically pointing their fingers at others.

This role was played by Morris Abram, leader of the U.S. delegation in Paris. With his imposing figure and aplomb, he declared, to begin with, that the torch of the Statue of Liberty in the United States illuminates mankind's hopes even in the Far East. This, in his opinion, was sufficient to convince the audience that all problems related to human rights have already been settled in the United States.

In contrast, he enumerated the states where the situation causes concern: namely, the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, and Hungary. The U.S. delegate even permitted himself to tap with his finger on the rostrum, to emphasize his statement while enumerating the "sins" of the countries in question. He almost forgot for a moment that he was in a conference hall and not in a school room, and began classifying the socialist countries according to the degree of their "guilt", and "decent behavior", even addressing some encouraging words to a number of them, which, according to him, were supposed to manifest signs of improvement.

The statement made by Sir Anthony Williams was pronounced in the same self-assured and arrogant manner. He was playing with a walking stick in his hand, and with aristocratic coolness chastised the socialist countries, as it had apparently not occurred to him to point out that in good old England human rights are not the same for noblemen and poor people, or that in Northern Ireland justice continues to be dispensed with weapons. Neither he, nor the American delegates considered it necessary to cast their eyes beyond the borders of the socialist countries—as if human ideals were perfectly prospering in all other parts of Europe.

Not a word was mentioned about Cyprus, where Turkish forces continue to occupy half the country. They remained unmoved by the extremely emotional speech of Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou, who showed photographs and gave the names of young people who had been thrown into prison without trial or sentence. Cold, but terrible statistics revealed the fact that

about 2,000 people have disappeared without trace, while 200,000 refugees have been expelled from their home areas. Even the Cypriot foreign minister himself has no access to the home of his birth, because it is situated in occupied Famagusta.... "This is my own human dimension," he told those who showed a tendency to measure human dignity by double standards: One set of standards for their allies, and another set for "the opposing camp."

In the name of a distorted sense of allied solidarity, the Western countries passed over in embarrassed silence not only the occupation of Cyprus but also the situation in Turkey itself. Tens of thousands of political prisoners, torture and arrests, shootings on the streets, the forced assimilation of entire nationality groups—these widely known facts all at once turned out to be "forgotten" by the delegates of the NATO states. Because of this, some of them once again zealously set about joining in the Turkish propaganda against Bulgaria.

The speech by Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz was the most shameless of all. He read a 10-page statement, seven pages of which consisted of anti-Bulgarian attacks. Apparently having forgotten which country he represented, he passionately undertook to instruct Bulgaria on how she should treat her own citizens. His speech contained words that did not, to put it mildly, fall within the framework of diplomatic ethics. The leader of our delegation was obliged to exercise his right of reply, and to remind him of certain truths about both Bulgaria and Turkey. His restrained, precise, and firm response was not only listened to with great attention by those present in the hall but also prompted applause, to the great embarrassment of the Turkish delegation.

Immediately following his speech, the Turkish foreign minister was due to give a news conference, but the journalists showed no interest in it. A few people were witnesses of a rare embarrassing incident. The Turkish minister waited an hour for the journalists by the door, and when he saw that he would have no one to talk to, quietly departed in the company of his colleagues.

Next day he received another slap in the face from the journalists. His feverish anti-Bulgarian speech was not reported by a single French newspaper, and even his name was not mentioned anywhere.

Interior Minister Explains New Passport Policy

AU0506145389 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
No 22, 31 May 89 p 5

[Interview with Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs by Nadezhda Kabakchieva: "New Foreign Travel Passports"—place, date not given]

[Text] DURZHAVEN VESTNIK most recently published the full text of the amendments and addenda to the Foreign Travel Law. Numerous readers' letters and telephone calls asking questions on this matter confirm the legitimate nationwide interest in the subject. ANTENI is trying to respond to our readers' questions with the following interview.

[Kabakchieva] Comrade Minister, the new law will considerably facilitate the work of your ministry's personnel and will contribute to the democratization of our society, it will reduce to a minimum certain unpleasant experiences of the citizens in connection with being refused a passport.

[Tanev] I agree with you that the amendments and addenda to the Foreign Travel Passports Law encourage our self-confidence as citizens of socialist Bulgaria. The changes are quite fundamental in certain respects. Nevertheless, this is not an isolated, or sensational act of Bulgarian legislation. The relaxation of passport regulations corresponds to the logic of the objective restructuring process in social relations. Bulgarian socialist society is adopting laws that permit our country to implement the principles and ideals of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] July Plenum policy.

To be refused a passport and an exit visa for a foreign country is an unpleasant experience both for the citizen in question and for the respective officials. In this connection I would like to stress that the situation is embarrassing, regardless of the reasons for the refusal. This is so, because, in the final account, the strength and force of attraction of socialism are based on the awareness of the common interests and goals of the socialist state and of its citizens.

It is justified to say that Bulgarian citizens travel widely all over the world today. Even today the refusal of a passport is a very infrequent and extreme measure. Nevertheless, the dissatisfaction expressed by some citizens stemmed from the right of the administrative departments to make such decisions for reasons of expediency. Regardless of how responsible and competent the representatives of the aforementioned organs may be, a feeling of lack of conviction remains, the doubt about a possible attempt against the citizens' rights remained, and a certain lack of confidence in the citizen's own judgment of estimating whether his actions are expedient for the state and for himself inevitably emerged. There is no doubt that the principle: "Whatever is an accordance with the law is expedient" guarantees the equality before the law of the citizen and the competent administrative organ that has been authorized by the state. The whole process, from the expression of the wish to the obtaining of the passport becomes a routine act of providing a service to the Bulgarian citizens.

We should not forget that a stable situation of public order in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well an increased confidence in international relations, and the striving to guarantee general security by political means are important prerequisites for the democratization of these relations.

[Kabakchieva] How would you describe the most essential changes about the Foreign Travel Passport Law in a specific context?

[Tanev] As I already stated, the spirit of the law has changed. The guarantees for a legitimate and just response to passport applications have improved. Every Bulgarian citizen, upon request, shall obtain a foreign travel passport, or an equivalent document that is valid for 5 years. The possibility of prolonging the validity of the passport, or travelling document, is guaranteed. The citizens are entitled to keep their passports.

The novelty is that every Bulgarian citizen who lives permanently abroad can obtain such a passport. If they wish, these citizens are entitled to come and visit their motherland without any restrictions.

The time limits for granting passports are strictly determined. The time-limit is 1 month, in special cases it may be prolonged to 3 months.

The procedure for informing the citizen in case of refusal to grant him a passport is clearly an categorically determined. This should be done in writing, with an explanation of the grounds and reasons for the refusal. The refusal is subject to appeal according to the established legal procedure. This helps better to guarantee the total protection of citizens in event their rights related to foreign travel are affected.

[Kabakchieva] Can you dwell somewhat more in detail on the possibilities of refusal to grant a passport?

[Tanev] The intention of the legislator is optimally to facilitate passport regulations in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The possibilities of refusal are greatly reduced, however, certain grounds for such a decision are envisaged. The reason is to avoid opportunities of encroachment against our national and social security, against our public order, against the material, or other interests of our state and of its citizens. This practice is applied in all civilized countries of the world, where the state is a necessary form of organization and an instrument for the protection of public life.

The restrictive measures described in the aforementioned Bulgarian law apply to the following cases:

—Minors, people under age, and individuals who are declared to be of unsound mind and have not obtained an authorization in writing from their parents, guardians, or trustees to travel abroad;
—individuals who have been ordered to pay alimony to another person and have not informed the person in question about the duration of their stay abroad;
—persons, whose travels abroad would endanger the security of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;
—persons, who in applying for a passport, or an exit visa, have stated untrue facts related to the grounds for refusal of a passport
—in such case the restriction is limited to 6 months following the filing of the application;

—persons who have considerable financial obligations toward the state, toward Bulgarian legal persons, or Bulgarian citizens, and whose debts have been legally established, unless their personal property should cover their obligations, or if they present other guarantees;

—persons who have been convicted and punished for systematic violations of Bulgarian customs, or currency legislation—within 1 year following the execution of the sentence;

—persons who have been punished for violating customs control regulations related to drugs—within 1 year following the execution of the sentence.

Bulgarian citizens who are permanent residents abroad can be refused a passport, only in the case that their travels should endanger our country's security. Even in this case, the refusal of a passport is only a temporary measure. Passport authorities are entitled positively to respond to applications for foreign travel passports, according to their own evaluation, even in cases of existing grounds for refusal described in the law.

[Kabakchieva] Would you like to add some remarks on the current changes?

[Tanev] The amendments to the Penal Code, to the Law On Bulgarian Citizenship, and to the Amnesty Law make it possible for all Bulgarian citizens who have left the country, with or without authorization, and have not returned, to visit Bulgaria, or to return, without being afraid of any sanctions. Such acts will be regarded as administrative breaches and will be sanctions with fines.

[Kabakchieva] The passport law was adopted, a code of regulations for its application will soon be published, and the law will come into force as of 1 September 1989. Will the authorized organs be able to cope with the flood of applications for foreign travel passports?

[Tanev] Since the relaxation of the passport regime responds to the real requirements of our social life, it is justified and normal to expect such a flood. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to assume that 1 September 1989 will represent some kind of watershed. Passports for foreign travel have been issued in the past and are currently being issued in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. There is no reason for the most impatient citizens to wait for the aforementioned amendments and addenda to come into force and to file their application only at that time.

The passport services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have the ambition to be well prepared to cope with their future obligations. We will try to make our contribution to the accurate and prompt observance of the socialist law.

Travel 'Difficult' Despite New Law

AU1206141489 Paris AFP in English
1314 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 12 (AFP)—Foreign travel by Bulgarian nationals will remain difficult despite new legislation on passports aimed at easing travel restrictions, according to Boris Spasov, the vice-president of the Bulgarian parliament's legislative commission.

In an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, Mr Spasov said that a shortage of convertible currency available to Bulgarians coupled with the refusal of some countries to grant entry visas on a routine basis were the two main obstacles to freer foreign travel by Bulgarian nationals.

"Bulgaria lacks a substantial reserve of convertible funds," Mr Spasov said, adding that the country's central bank would be hard pressed to provide travellers with foreign currency sufficient for anything more than a brief trip.

Under a plan approved in May by the parliament, Bulgarian nationals can obtain a passport that is valid for five years, and in contrast to past practice can keep the document with them at all times.

The new law contains eight reasons for denying a passport, but applicants are also permitted to appeal any refusal through legal channels. Detailed plans for application of the new legislation are "almost completed," Mr Spasov said.

Mr Spasov, who is also a professor of constitutional law and a member of the Bulgarian Parliament, said he did not believe the new passport law would trigger a mass exodus from Bulgaria and a consequent brain drain.

"But even if that did happen, as soon as other countries began granting entry visas, no one in Bulgaria would try to stop it," Mr Spasov said. He noted that the mass emigration of ethnic Turkish Bulgarian Moslems to Turkey had taken place under the former, more restrictive passport regulations.

In other remarks, Mr Spasov said that Bulgaria was not prepared to abolish capital punishment, but said that the death penalty should never be used for people convicted of "political crimes."

A liberalization of the country's penal code was due to begin soon which should produce a "considerable" reduction in the maximum prison sentence, currently 30 years, Mr Spasov said.

New Visa Fees, Used Vehicles Sales Examined

AU0806141089 Sofia TRUD in Bulgaria
6 Jun 89 p 2

["Extract" from DURZHAVEN VESTNIK"]

[Text] Issue No 43 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK on 6 June 1989 publishes an amendment to the existing regulations on fees collected by the consular services of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for entry visas. The amendment point out that, as of today, fees for ordinary entry visas shall amount to 16 leva. The fees for multiple entry visas shall amount to 34 leva. The fees for one-time transit visas shall amount to 10 leva, while 15 leva will be charged for two-time transit visas, and 24 leva for multiple transit viasas. The fees for express entry visas shall amount to 24 leva, while 32 leva shall be charged for extraordinary [ekstrena] entry visas and 20 leva for extraordinary transit visas.

The same issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publishes a regulation on the sale of used motor vehicles by legal persons to citizens. The new regulation stipulates that the right of sales shall extend to all types of motor vehicles which private citizens are entitled to own. The same procedure shall apply to the sale of self-propelled agricultural equipment, including freight trailers driven by tractors. Vehicles which have been abandoned by foreign and local citizens, or have been confiscated to the benefit of the state, as well as vehicles which have been imported for the purpose of being sold shall also be considered used vehicles. The amendment to these regulations points out that motor vehicles produced in socialist countries may be sold either for Bulgarian levas, or foreign currency. Vehicles made in non-socialist countries should be sold in convertible currency, and only if the sale is not effectuated—shall be resold in leva.

The same issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK carries an addendum to the existing regulations on subscriptions for radio and television sets, and for amplifiers.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 May-2 Jun

AU0306145589

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 26 May-2 June monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended a festive rally held in Zherkovo, Sofia Oblast, on 26 May to mark the 45th anniversary of the formation of a partisan brigade: Dobri Dzhurov, Vasil Tsanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 May 89 pp 1, 6)

The following leaders attended a festive military tattoo held in Sofia on 1 June on the eve of Botev Day in commemoration of the fallen in Bulgaria's liberation struggle: Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Panev, and Dimitur Stoyanov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 1 Jun 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the Council of Ministers, opened a 2-day national stock-breeding fair near Sliven on 27 May. (Sofia BTA in English 1704 GMT 27 May 89) In Burgas on 30 May Atanasov took part in a meeting of the Bureau of the Burgas Oblast BCP Committee and the Executive Committee of Burgas Oblast People's Council on social development, and made other visits in the district. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 May 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, led a parliamentary delegation on a visit to Bonn, where he had talks with members of the Bundestag and FRG Government and party leaders on 30 May (Sofia BTA in English 0720 GMT 31 May 89) and 31 May, (Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 31 May 89) and on 1 June toured North Rhine-Westphalia with his delegation. (Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 1 Jun 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, made a speech at a festive meeting held in the Army Club in Sofia on 23 May to mark the Day of Slavonic Letters and Bulgarian Education and Culture. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 24 May 89 pp 1, 3)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met in Ruse on 31 May with local party officials and intellectuals, who expressed their support for Zhivkov's 29 May radio and television statement on Bulgarian unity in the face of foreign interference. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 31 May 89)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, received in Sofia on 29 May a delegation from the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front of the DPRK led by Yu Ho-chun, the front's secretary. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 May 89 p 1)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, departed from Sofia on 29 May with a delegation to take part in the Conference on the Human Dimensions of the CSCE Process. (Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 29 May 89) In Paris on 30 May he addressed the CSCE session. (Sofia BTA in English 1619 GMT 30 May 89) (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 May 89 pp 1, 3) and held talks there with other foreign ministers on 30 May (Sofia BTA in English 0723 GMT 31 May 89) and 31 May. (Sofia BTA in English 0800 GMT 1 Jun 89) Mladenov returned from Paris to Sofia on 1 June. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 1 Jun 89)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a public meeting in Vratsa on 1 June on the eve of Botev Day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Jun 89) At Okolchitsa Peak, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, on 2 June Yotov attended a traditional Botev Day patriotic meeting and rally. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 2 Jun 89)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a rally in Strazhitsa on 27 May to mark Botev Day—2 June. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 89 p 2)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, received in Sofia on 29 May an SFRY delegation led by Prof Jurij Bajec, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. (Sofia BTA in English 0738 GMT 30 May 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, attended in Khaskovo on 27 May a plenum of the Khaskovo Oblast BCP organization on regional industrial development. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 May 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, attended a festive meeting in Vratsa on 26 May to mark the 250th birth anniversary of the religious revivalist figure Sofroniy Vrachanski and unveiled a memorial to him. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 May 89) In Sofia on 29 May he presented awards at the World Philatelic Exhibition "Bulgaria'89." (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 May 89 p 6) In Sofia on 1 June Yordanov attended a meeting to mark the 10th anniversary of the children's "Banner of Peace" movement. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Jun 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, signed a protocol in Cairo on 29 May with De Yusuf Amin Wali, secretary general of the National Democratic Party of Egypt. (Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 29 May 89)

In Sofia on 1 June Stanishev received Sheila Kaul, secretary general of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress-Indira Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 1 Jun 89)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in Sofia on 30 May in a joint meeting of the National Agro-Industrial Union Association and the Federal Council of Agricultural and Food Industry Trade Unions on plan fulfillment and restructuring. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 May 89)

Continuing PRC Unrest Termed 'Internal Matter'

LD1106103489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Our regular Sunday foreign political comment today is by editor Tomas Chudlarsky: [passage omitted] If, in the Soviet Union, the new parliament has already been elected, in neighboring Poland the elections are still under way, with the second round due in a week. Therefore we can only assess the first round so far. Even that, however, shows many indications and pointers. Firstly, the results—both Solidarity's success and the low turnout, with something approaching 40 percent of the electorate not turning out to vote—is a natural reaction to the cheerless situation in the country, the difficult economic problems, growing inflation, and the falling standard of living. In circumstances like this—and any psychologist will bear this out—dissatisfied voters instinctively favor the opposition rather than the government coalition, no matter what the candidates say in their speeches, and most Poles are clearly fed up with the prattle, pressure campaigns, and uncertaintly of the past few years. Instead they want promises to be kept and specific results, and this understandably applies not only to Poland, either.

In China too the repercussions of the growing economic difficulties, corruption, and bribery which set in during the second half of the eighties after the initial dynamic process of reform have come home to roost. It is these difficulties that have acted as a social trigger for the student unrest engendering politically-oriented slogans—unrest which, according to official Chinese sources, spilled over into an attempt at counterrevolution, a bid to overthrow the socialist system and smash the Communist Party. To deal with this, the army was called in to clear the demonstrators from the central areas of Beijing. The solution of this state of affairs is, of course, an internal matter for the Chinese themselves. Foreign interference in this process—and here I am talking, in particular, about the sanctions the United States has declared against China—begins to reek of outdated dogma and swims against the tide of the new political thinking. Nonetheless it is encouraging that the situation in Beijing is slowly returning to normal, and China, as its officials have pointed out, intends to pursue its policy of reform and openness toward the rest of the world.

Commentary Criticizes Bush's Foreign Policy

AU0906182689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 7

[Milan Jelinek commentary: "Regarding Some Statements by President Bush"]

[Text] After a relatively long period of time, when the strategic foreign policy line was being drafted in the White House, the United States, on the occasion of President George Bush's visit to Western Europe, expressed its opinion on a number of serious problems. It is only to be welcomed that the new American Administration has broken its silence on such fundamental issues as disarmament or international cooperation for the protection of the environment. For example, in the sphere of conventional disarmament in Europe, the American response to the proposals from the Soviet Union and the socialist states appears to be promising. Just how fruitful the outcome of the American approach will be, only the talks themselves will reveal. Nevertheless, it is necessary to once again underline that American policy in the sphere of disarmament, despite all the ambiguities, unfinished sentences, and some contradictory standpoints, is moving in an agreeable and requisite direction. This also applies to the second most serious problem of the present—the protection of the environment.

However, there is still the other half of the declared American intentions, which arouse anxiety. This concerns the relationship of the new American Administration to the socialist countries and to the changes which are taking place in them. For it seems that the present leading U.S. representatives are proceeding in their comprehensive discussion, which in my judgment is not yet finished, from their class interests: The changes in socialist society are advantageous for the interests of the first superpower of imperialism and for the whole of the Western world in general as long as they lead to a change of the socialist social system.

The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries regard the policy of social changes as an instrument of the development of socialist society, of its perfection, and of the releasing of the potential of socialism. The program of our restructuring is expressed in a clear slogan—More democracy and more socialism. In other words, we are interested in a better and stronger socialist social system. American interest is the opposite. It is not the only point on which we differ, the only case when we consider the phenomena and processes in the world differently.

No one is taking the American President's right to an opinion away from him. However, it is impossible to be silent if these opinions cast doubt upon the existing political and social reality of the present world and Europe. According to one Bush statement, "The time has come when it is necessary for Europe to be united and free." What is concealed behind this American idea? According to it, "the division of Europe" will obviously come to an end when the socialist social system disappears. President Bush calls the status quo in Europe, that is, the situation which was created objectively and historically as a consequence of the Second World War and post-war development, the existence and adjacency of two diverse social systems, the Soviet "status quo" and rejects it.

All of this is announced as the aim of the official policy of the American Administration. Meantime, in Washington there is talk about the political means, and mainly the economic ones, which should turn socialist development aside in the socialist countries in a direction toward capitalism.

Americans often called for the exclusion of ideology from inter-state relations. Wherever in the world there appeared national liberation, democratic, and anti-imperialist movements, the United States accused the socialist states of "the export of ideology" and generally, according to American opinion, "ideology" is the greatest barrier to understanding, coexistence, and to the possibility of a joint solution to pressing problems.

The Soviet Union, in the spirit of the new political thinking, drafted a concept for the de-ideologization of inter-state relations. This involves the exclusion of ideological arguments and differences from relations between states which had a braking effect and often even presented insurmountable barriers for the possibility of finding a settlement and a solution to universal problems such as disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, environmental protection, new economic order, and so on.

Today the United States is, surprisingly, proceeding the other way round. It is introducing its own ideological views and ideas into government policy and is turning state policy into a combative and forceful instrument for achieving its ideological aims. If we think this American concept through to the end, it actually means a return to the policy of confrontation. If any state sets out as its aim the change of the social system in other states, it thus assumes the right of interference and all forms of intervention in the internal political affairs of the other states.

American endeavors to change Europe and to create the political and economic structures in it which socialist revolutions swept away in Eastern Europe can end in the very unfortunate times which we have already experienced—in confrontation, distrust, and the revival of the image of enemy—and after that follows armament and a whole chain of problems, each of which is packed with elements of conflict. At the same time, it would be naive to think that in Washington they are contemplating Europe alone. In no way, this American policy should evidently be valid on a global scale.

The United States defines the present situation in Europe as "the Soviet status quo." However, there does not exist any Soviet, American, or even any other kind of status quo. Obviously, it is apparent that the elite of the American bourgeoisie, who are today in power, do not understand such concepts as the common European home. For it is trying to "rebuild" Europe according to its own image, the building in which the European nations should live, should have not only an American facade but also an American interior.

President Bush, then, has expressed his political principles regarding relations with the socialist states which are not only unwise and unrealistic but are also harmful. They are absolutely contrary to the interests of the European states and peoples. Europe wants to extricate itself from the policy of confrontation and has already accomplished much in this regard. There can be no argument that a new atmosphere has prevailed in the world, a new, great responsibility which requires reason and sobriety. The ideas which President Bush has announced in recent days are in profound disharmony with these new tendencies in international relations.

CPCZ Presidium Previews Upcoming 14th Session

LD1006152989 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium discussed at its session here today a draft report on the party's activity after the 13th Central Committee session and its further tasks to be delivered by party General Secretary Milos Jakes at the 14th session of the party Central Committee on June 14.

The session also dealt with some organizational questions concerning the preparation of the 18th party congress and set a key for the election of delegates to party regional, city and district conferences and to the Slovak Communist Party congress.

The Presidium was acquainted with the course of preparation of that part of draft political principles of Czechoslovakia's new constitution which concerns national committees.

The top party body was also informed of a proposal for the calling of a national conference of teachers of September 8-9, 1989 which should focus on the role of school and teachers in the process of the restructuring of society.

The top party representatives took note of the course and results of a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia by Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov on June 6-7, and stated with satisfaction that Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations are developing dynamically and in harmony with the long-term program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries up to the year 2000.

The Presidium was also informed of a consultation of Central Committee secretaries in charge of economic questions of communist and workers' parties of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA] member-states held in Berlin June 6-7.

Press Reports Atanasov Prague Dinner Speech

AU0906150189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jun 89 p 5

["Summary" of toast speech made by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at official dinner given in his honor on 7 June in Prague]

[Excerpts] Prague, 7 June, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Todor Koruev report—The visit paid by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Czechoslovakia has ended. [passage omitted]

CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec gave an official dinner in honor of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 6 June in Prague.

Georgi Atanasov, in his toast speech, pointed out that Bulgaria and the CSSR are both involved in a process of restructuring and renewal today. Fundamental changes are being implemented in the two countries' economic and intellectual spheres, in the system of our social values.

Under the leadership of the two countries' communist parties, the further development of socialist democracy is being pursued on a large scale in both countries, the speaker stated. The purpose of this historic act is fully to reveal the potential of socialism and its capacity of optimally responding to the needs of the modern man.

In this complicated and diversified process, a mutual exchange of experience and the inspiring example of the Soviet Union are remarkable prerequisites for the development of a new concept of socialism, Georgi Atanasov went on. The use of varied forms and methods reflecting the specific nature and the peculiar features of each country, represents a great contribution to our common development.

Georgi Atanasov pointed out that restructuring has a qualitative influence on our bilateral relations, based on the total mutual confidence and understanding between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and between the two countries. The talks and the agreements reached between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Milos Jakes in April 1983, in Sofia gave new impetus to this cooperation. This applies, in particular, to the Long-Term Program on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation which they signed on that occasion. We are convinced that we should concentrate our efforts upon future-oriented, technological trends, reflecting the structural changes in the economic systems of our two countries, upon the broad development of specialization and production sharing, upon the establishment of joint enterprises and associations, as well as on joint ventures on third markets.

Cooperation between our two countries is extensive and dynamic, Georgi Atanasov stressed. It is natural that difficulties may emerge in this cooperation. Openness and mutual exigence are required in such case. A calm and objective joint analysis and active measures for overcoming the existing difficulties are called for.

It is natural that we should link our bilateral cooperation to the further development of CEMA—our common economic organization.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria ended his toast speech by emphasizing that the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, and the other socialist community member-countries are aimed at the development and consolidation of the all-European process, at the practical implementation of the ideas and proposals that have been submitted. Our foreign policy will continue to rely even more on the new political thinking, it will further develop its constructive and mutually advantageous cooperation in accordance with the interests of the socialist countries.

In the spirit of our country's initiatives for peace and understanding in the Balkans, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will further contribute to the interests of the common European home and to the philosophy of new political thinking, Georgi Atanasov declared.

The official dinner proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Knotek Visits Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Dam Site

LD1006152189 Prague CTK in English 1150 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Bratislava June 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek visited today the construction site of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water system.

After inspecting the site he met with leading workers to acquaint them with the results of the Czechoslovak and Slovak governments' debates on the further realization of the project. He appreciated their work and voiced the conviction that they will also in the future implement their tasks so that the first unit of the water power system could be put into operation on July 1, 1990, as planned.

Joint Venture Signed With U.S., Canadian Firms

AU0906135089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 2

["(sid)"-signed report: "Casino in Prague"]

[Text] Prague (By our correspondent)—A contract on setting up the CEDOK Sun Gold Casino Prague Ltd as a joint venture was signed in Prague on Wednesday [7 June] by the founders—the CEDOK state enterprise in Prague, the Coil Financial Group from Las Vegas in the United States, and the Sun Gold Developments International Ltd company from Vancouver, Canada. The new company will operate the gambling casino, which will be catering exclusively to foreign visitors, in Prague's Forum Hotel. After ascertaining the amount of interest in the casino, the company envisages setting up a casino in downtown Prague. Apart from these activities, the newly established enterprise will also make provisions for enticing foreign visitors to come to Czechoslovakia, particularly in those areas where the CEDOK still lacks a developed network of tourist partner agencies. The Czechoslovak side will receive 54 percent of the profits

made by the enterprise. It is planned to use a considerable percentage of the revenues in the medical and social spheres and for developing tourism, especially for our citizens' travels abroad.

Austrian Army Group on Confidence-Building Visit
AU0906134889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Brief Domestic News" column: "Contribution aimed at Strengthening Trust"]

[Text] A delegation of the Austrian Army arrived in the CSSR yesterday [7 June]; it is led by Heinz Fatzel, colonel of the general staff and commander of the Mautern brigade, who is accompanied by Herbert Mischinger, commander of the 31st Regiment. Among other things, the delegation will have the opportunity to observe the course of a tactical exercise carried out by a motorized infantry formation of the Czechoslovak People's Army; the purpose of the exercise is to improve the ability of the exercising units to conduct a defensive battle. The presence of the Austrian side represents Czechoslovakia's contribution to the strengthening of mutual trust between our two countries and armies.

FRG Envoy Reminded of Appeal on Hijackers
LD0906061489 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 8 (CTK)—West German Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Hermann Huber was summoned today to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry to take over a note reminding the West German side of the Czechoslovak appeal of March 30, 1989, for the extradition of juvenile hijackers of a Malev airplane Stefan Macicka and Dusan Styk.

The more than two-month silence of the West German side just incites further terrorist actions and is not in harmony with the two sides' endeavour to maintain good neighbourly relations, the note of the Czechoslovak Government said.

New Joint Enterprise Founded With FRG
AU0906195589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "A Joint CSSR-FRG Enterprise"]

[Text] Prague—The protection of the environment is the main concern of the new CSSR-FRG joint enterprise, named OTES, which was founded on Tuesday [6 June] in Prague. As Vitaliij Svic, deputy minister of metallurgy, engineering, and the electrotechnical industry, and representatives of the Prerov Engineering Works and the SHL company from the FRG, who signed the founding agreement, reported on this occasion, the enterprise will supply equipment for the desulphurization of smoke gases in power stations.

One of its tasks is the construction of separation equipment in the Pocerady, Chvaletice, and Novaky power stations in units with a total output of 2,200 megawatts. The assumed volume of labor will have a value of almost Kcs7 billion, the overwhelming part of the equipment will be manufactured in the FRG. In the long run the export of engineering technology for desulphurization equipment to the CEMA member-countries and to non-socialist states is envisaged.

The capital stock of the new enterprise, which was founded for a period of 10 years, amounts to Kcs16 million. Both sides are contributing half the amount.

Prague Mayor Meets Genscher, Signs Memorandum
AU0906201489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK correspondent's report: "Partnership Prague-Nuremberg"]

[Text] Bonn—On Wednesday [7 June] a delegation from the capital city of Prague led by Mayor Zdenek Horcik concluded its visit to Nuremberg, carried out at the invitation of Peter Schoenlein, the city's chief mayor.

During the visit Z. Horcik and P. Schoenlein signed a memorandum on the further development of cooperation between the two cities. The two representatives endorsed the proposal to establish relations of partnership between Prague and Nuremberg.

On Tuesday [6 June] evening in Nuremberg, Z. Horcik met with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs. The minister welcomed the present level of relations between the two cities and described as very positive the proposal to set up partnership relations.

Urbanek Attends Socialist Conference in Cuba
LD1006151689 Prague CTK in English 2013 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Havana June 9 (CTK correspondent)—Development in individual socialist countries has been very stormy in the past few years, the head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee delegation to the conference of Central Committee Secretaries of Fraternal Parties from Socialist Countries for Political and Organizational Work, which took place in Havana on June 6 and 7, has told CTK.

Karel Urbanek, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and chairman of the Czech Committee for Party Work, said that it is necessary to answer questions concerning the leading role of the party in Socialist society, the methods and forms of political work, particularly of the political leadership, and the improvement of the membership so that it is in tune with the tasks of the present and future development.

We have agreed above all that it is necessary to further promote the leading role of the party and choose forms and methods of political work according to the specific needs of each country, Karel Urbanek further said. He stressed the importance of the fact that no pattern has been adopted in accordance with which all communist and workers' parties should work. Each party should choose the methods and forms of work corresponding to the achieved level of development of its society, its historical development and the mentality of each nation, Karel Urbanek said.

We also agreed that it is necessary to further strengthen the party ranks and that qualitative aspects must be given priority, the Czechoslovak Party official said.

The Czechoslovak delegation informed the particpants in the conferenc eof the restructuring in Czechoslovakia, of its experience from improving the party membership. We have refused a formal attitude, i.e. strengthening of the membership, regardless of the quality of the candidates and members, and we have also stressed that it is necessary to accept only the best people into the party, those who can qualitatively influence the activity at their work places, Urbanek said.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation further appreciated the good organization of the conference and the good conditions prepared by the Cuban Communist Party for its work.

PDRY Delegation Ends Visit, Departs 9 Jun

LD1006115489 Prague CTK in English
1500 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—An official visit of member of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and chief of the political administration of the Armed Forces of the People Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] Lieutenant-Colonel Husayn 'Ali Husan ended here today.

On Friday [9 June] afternoon the Yemeni guests visited an exposition on aeronautics and astronautics in the Military Museum in Prague.

The Yemeni delegation was seen off at Prague airport by chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army Colonel-General Jaroslav Klicha and other officials.

Second Day of Johanes Netherlands Visit

AU0906123289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report: "The Netherlands: J. Johanes Addressed Deputies"]

[Text] The Hague—Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, who is paying a 2-day official visit to the Netherlands, addressed a joint session of the permanent foreign relations committees of the Dutch Parliament in The Hague on Wednesday [7 June].

In his speech to the deputies, Minister Johanes explained Czechoslovakia's stand on the most important international issues, with special emphasis on the prospects of the CSCE process. In this connection he acquainted the Dutch deputies with Czechoslovak intentions to continue to assert the proposal of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. He also said that Czechoslovakia is paying increased attention to environmental protection. This is borne out by the initiative of CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec. The CSSR followed with interest the conference on the protection of the atmosphere, held in The Hague in March, and is studying the declaration adopted by its participants.

Minister Johanes ended his official visit to the Kingdom of the Netherlands on Wednesday and left for home.

Meets Foreign Minister

LD0706230589 Prague CTK in English
1737 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] The Hague June 7 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes ended his official two-day visit to the Netherlands and left for home today.

Before his departure, he parted with Hans Van Den Broek, foreign minister of the Netherlands, at whose invitation the visit took place.

Departs for Cyprus 10 Jun

LD1006215589 Prague CTK in English
1605 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes left here for Nicosia today. He is to pay an official visit to Cyprus on June 11 to 13 at the invitation of his Cypriot counterpart Yeoryios Iakovou.

Czechoslovak-Cypriot relations are very good, friendly and developed. Czechoslovakia is one of the states which recognized the Republic of Cyprus immediately after it gained independence in August 1960 and since December 1960, the two countries have maintained diplomatic contacts on the level of embassies. The high level of political relations and the development of a dialogue in favour of friendship and cooperation is documented inter alia by the 1980 visit of the Cypriot president to Czechoslovakia and the visit of the Czechoslovak prime minister to Cyprus in 1987.

In the spirit of the active Czechoslovak policy of peace and understanding, a meeting of eight leading representatives of Cypriot political parties took place in Prague from May 11 to 16 this year. It was the first meeting of this kind after 1974, the year of the forceful division of Cyprus, at which political representatives from the

South and North of the island were given the possibility of discussing various aspects of a solution to the Cyprus issue. Cypriot political and state officials have highly appreciated Czechoslovakia's initiative to host the meeting which became an important impulse supporting the inter-Cypriot dialogue, an action to the benefit of a constructive solution to the long-standing and complicated issue.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Johanes is to hold talks on Cyprus on the further possibilities of an all-round development of Czechoslovak-Cypriot relations, particularly with regard to reserves in the sphere of economic cooperation and trade exchange. Last year's trade turnover reached almost 20 million dollars, with Czechoslovak exports to Cyprus—mainly rolled material, textiles, glass and malt—amounting to some 16 million dollars.

Miroslav Zavadil Addresses Trinec Workers 1 Jun
AU0706103689 Prague PRACE in Czech
2 Jun 89 p 2

["From the Speech by Comrade Miroslav Zavadil," member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, at the Trinec Great October Socialist Revolution Iron Works during the presentation of the "Red Banner" awarded to the enterprise by the CSSR Government and the Central Trade Union Council for its 1988 economic achievements, held on 1 June: "Recognition for a Job Well Done"]

[Excerpts] In the introduction to his speech M. Zavadil praised the collective workforce of the Trinec Great October Socialist Revolution Iron Works on the high recognition of their work in 1988. He also conveyed to them comradely greetings and gratitude from M. Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, and L. Adamec, CSSR premier. [passage omitted]

In Trinec—he further stressed—the exemplary results which you have been achieving over a long period are also the labor of an indeed great working initiative. They are the confirmation that, even under the new economic mechanism, working initiative has its own irreplacable position. In no case do economic instruments and the intensification of the conscious attitude toward work stand against each other. The logic of the matter is unequivocal. Nothing of what we have achieved so far in the years of building socialism evolved automatically. It is the result of the selfless, skillful labor of the workers, agricultural workers, scientists, technicians, and of all upright working people.

In the whole of our Republic we can be proud of what we have achieved during the years of socialist construction. Yes, many things can and must disturb us, we are reacting critically to a series of problems and difficulties which have been accompanying us unnecessarily over a long period of time and are embittering our life. We do not want to and we will not reconcile ourselves to this.

We have entered into a decisive phase in the preparation for the complete implementation of the new economic mechanism. There are various approaches, said M. Zavadil further, among other things, fears and distrust, a wait-and-see attitude and impatience, and an interest and firm conviction about the correctness of these fundamental changes. However, there are still enough of those people who are indifferent. And some of them are even invoking restructuring and glasnost but are concerned not about the strengthening but the disruption of socialism. We must politically expose these opinions and their holders and show that they are not a constructive contribution in the required dialogue. In dialogue and also in honest work for society. It is impossible to separate one from the other. [passage omitted]

In the participation of the trade unions in the introduction of the new economic mechanism we regard it as vital that they take an active part in the drafting and implementation of economic accountability in workplaces and in the consistent realization of the principle of merit in pay policy. We must state in truth that in this regard the trade unions have so far not sufficiently involved themselves. There are more words than concrete acts.

In harmony with the conclusions of the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, recently a number of trade union organs and organizations have made critical remarks about the not very decisive approach of some ministries in resolving matter-of-fact problems associated with the implementation of the new economic mechanism. The central organs, as Comrade M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, recently stated, cannot relieve themselves of the responsibility for what is happening in the enterprises and for how the tasks of providing for the needs of the market are being fulfilled. Yes, the issue is to work according to the new methods of work both in the ministry and in the state enterprise.

It should pain all of us how the central organs are reacting or not reacting to the improper practice of some state enterprises which in the interest of profit are producing, or are wanting to produce, only what is suitable for them, regardless of the needs of society. The people know about this and speak about this, it is, in the final analysis, against the interests of the working people. Our trade union organizations cannot be silent, they must feel responsible and have the courage to speak out publicly against such tendencies. [passage omitted]

We are living through a difficult period, stated M. Zavadil at the end of his speech. We are not concealing the problems but we have no reason to cast down our eyes. We believe in restructuring and in its ideological

richness and persuasiveness. We will lead it to a successful conclusion because the overwhelming majority of the people supports it and because our Communist Party set it in motion and guarantees it.

We are following the course of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies with remarkable interest. The congress once again confirms what revolutionary restructuring is and how penetrating is its democracy, courage, and feasibility.

The speech by Comrade M. Gorbachev convincingly expresses the new, revolutionary prospects for the country of the Soviets. The congress debates make it clear to the whole world that socialism is striving for and will strive for the fulfillment of the most noble ideals of humanity. That there is no other social system which could fulfill the well-being of mankind better, in a more dignified manner, and more justly.

Pitra Addresses Aktiv in South Bohemia

AU0906111589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 2

[Igor Sirota, Vladimir Vacha report: "Scope for Initiative and Entrepreneurial Spirit"]

[Excerpts] Ceske Budejovice (From our correspondents)—The 2d day of the working visit by the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] to South Bohemia began with a joint working meeting of the government, which was chaired by Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech SR. The participants mainly paid heed to problems standing in the way of the region's more rapid economic and social development. In March, the Government of the Czech SR held a session in East Bohemia. Similar external sessions will be held also in the other regions. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon Frantisek Pitra addressed an aktiv of the Czech SR Government Presidium and other ministers, the party aktiv, deputies to representative bodies, functionaries of national committees, and senior managerial staff of the South Bohemia region. He stressed, among other things, that, in implementing restructuring, there must not be any room anywhere for empty promises and the creation of illusions. We would be doing restructuring a disservice. The same goes for everyday work with the people when we sometimes inordinately stress the risks and all sorts of snags the introduction of restructuring entails and do not sufficiently emphasize the main thing, the genuine purpose of restructuring—that is, that restructuring is no road leading into the unknown, into social uncertainty, but that it primarily is a great opportunity for people who work honestly, conscientiously, and efficiently. By emphasizing this chance we will not, of course, win lazybones over to our side, but we will definitely win over the overwhelming majority of the working people of this country. And that is crucial for meeting the goals of restructuring.

The implementation of necessary structural changes is not a key issue just for enterprises, but for central agencies as well. The government will give support only to plans that will demonstrate great national economic efficiency and major prospects and the operation of which will not disrupt the environment. We realize that we cannot initiate structural changes just by limiting by command the production of energy, steel, and other raw materials. It is necessary to create systemic prerequisites for the gradual limitation of their inordinate consumption, including by winding down all inefficient production lines, with the effective help of instruments of fiscal, credit, and foreign exchange policies.

At the same time, we do not lose sight of sociopolitical aspects. We reckon that concepts for the retraining of personnel and for the reorientation of the activity of territorially-based production units and enterprises will be drawn up. In doing so, we will attend to it that the implementation of the proposed intentions does not mean a deteriorated social standing of the working people. We do not want people to "make sacrifices" but to invest more initiative and more entrepreneurial spirit in restructuring, Frantisek Pitra said. [passage omitted]

New Cooperative Chairman Elected 7 Jun

AU0906200089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 89 p 2

[Report in the "By Telex, Post, and Telephone" column]

[Text] On Wednesday [7 June] in Bratislava Milan Makyta, the first deputy chairman of the union to date, was elected from two candidates as chairman of the Slovak Union of Production Cooperatives. Branislav Biros was relieved from this position at his own request because of his retirement.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-7 Jun

AU0906184789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech, Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 2 to 8 June report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Jan Fojtik, attended the closing concert of the Prague Spring music festival, in Prague on 2 June. (RUDE PRAVO 3 June p 1)

Jozef Lenart, accompanied by Frantisek Hanus, signed the book of condolences at the Soviet Embassy for the victims of the Siberian railway disaster, in Prague on 5 June. (PRAVDA 6 June p 1)

Alois Indra and Karel Hoffmann received Eva Zeleznikova, deputy chairperson of the Chamber of People of the CSSR Federal Assembly, on the occasion of her "jubilee" when she was presented with an award, in Prague on 5 June. (RUDE PRAVO 6 June p 2)

Karel Urbanek, accompanied by Jaromir Johanes, attended an international gathering of young people in the Sumava Mountains, in Vimperk on 4 June. (PRAVDA 5 June p 1)

At Ruzyne Airport, Karel Hoffmann bade farewell to Karel Urbanek, who was departing on a visit to Cuba, in Prague on 4 June. (RUDE PRAVO 5 June p 1)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Alois Indra and Frantisek Kincl, addressed a nationwide aktiv of leading staff of the judicial and security apparatus, in Prague on 6 June. (RUDE PRAVO 7 June pp 1, 2)

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, was received by Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak, in the presence of Ladislav Adamec, in Prague on 6 June. (PRAVDA 7 June p 1)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, attended the opening of an exhibition on the 40th anniversary of the peace movement, in Prague on 7 June. (RUDE PRAVO 8 June p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, held concluding talks with Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in Prague on 7 June. (RUDE PRAVO 8 June pp 1, 2)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, presented an award to the director of Melnik power station, in Prague on 1 June. (RUDE PRAVO 2 June p 2) He attended a session of the Central Bohemian regional national committee, in Dobris on 5 June. (LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 6 June p 4)

Miroslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee, received a Cuban study delegation, in Bratislava on 1 June. (RUDE PRAVO 2 June p 2) He chaired a session of the CPSL Central Committee economic commission, in Bratislava on 5 June. (PRAVDA 6 June p 2)

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Viliam Kozik, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Tunisia, prior to his departure to his post, in Prague on 5 June. (RUDE PRAVO 6 June p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee Secretary, addressed a conference on CEMA economic integration, in Prague on 1 June. (RUDE PRAVO 2 June p 2) He chaired a session of the CPCZ Central Committee foreign policy commission, in Prague on 5 June. (RUDE PRAVO 6 June p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, began a 2-day working visit to South Bohemia, in Ceske Budejovice on 6 June. (RUDE PRAVO 7 June p 1) He continued his visit and made a speech at a party aktiv in Ceske Budejovice on 7 June. (RUDE PRAVO 8 June p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Frantisek Planicka, the legendary goalkeeper, on the occasion of his 85th birthday, in Prague on 1 June. (ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 2 June p 4) He visited the "Little Quarter" of Prague to inquire about modernization progress, in Prague on 5 June. (RUDE PRAVO 6 June p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, made a speech during the presentation of a government award to the workforce of the Trinec steel mill, in Trinec on 1 June. (PRACE 2 June p 2) He paid a working visit to West Slovakia, in Nove Zamky on 2 June. (PRACE 3 June p 1) He visited the building site of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station and met with Sandor Nagy, the Hungarian Trade Union chief, in Komarno on 3 June. (RUDE PRAVO 5 June p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of Italian parliamentarians, in Prague on 1 June. (RUDE PRAVO 2 June p 2) He receive Genrikh Kireyev, a USSR Foreign Ministry official, in Prague on 2 June. (RUDE PRAVO 3 June p 2)

Talks Held With Visiting Soviet Foreign Minister

Fischer, Shevardnadze Meet

LD0906131589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1145 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The steady deepening and intensification of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR continues to be of great importance in the implementation of the two countries' development strategy and the strengthening of the positions of socialism. This was noted jointly by Oskar Fischer, GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Berlin today during a friendly exchange of views, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and with complete unanimity.

The two sides dealt with a broad range of questions concerning bilateral cooperation and international politics. With a view to the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the start of diplomatic relations between the two fraternal states, they praised the good state of bilateral cooperation, which received strong impetus from the working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev last September. The ministers devoted particular attention to the further shaping of cooperation between the two foreign ministries.

Turning to international questions, Oskar Fischer and Eduard Shevardnadze stressed the current relevance and importance of the wide-ranging initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states. Special importance was attached to the statement of the Berlin meeting of the foreign ministers on tactical nuclear weapons and the appeal by the Warsaw Pact member states to the member states of the North Atlantic alliance.

The socialist countries were determined to continue in the future to do everything to advance the process of disarmament and detente and to strengthen stability on the European Continent. The two sides expressed the hope that this constructive action will receive an adequate response.

Europe needed an increase in trust, which could only be obtained through a reduction in the arsenals of weapons on the basis of reciprocity and equal security. This created the preconditions for making cooperation the overriding trend in international relations.

Fischer Hosts Dinner

LD0906202289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1221 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer hosted a luncheon this afternoon in Berlin for USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. In toasts the two officials stressed that the GDR and USSR are working jointly to further shape trusting cooperation and strengthen peace.

Oskar Fischer stressed that the close fraternal alliance with the CPSU and USSR and firm anchoring in the Warsaw Pact and socialist community are and remain the immovable foundation of the GDR's policy. It fills us with great satisfaction, he said, that the unparalleled relations, in terms of intensity and range, are developing very dynamically in the implementation of the agreements reached between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev. The past months, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact states, and other initiatives by our states on a bi- and multi-lateral level have again testified to the socialist foreign policy's desire for peace

As a result of its predictable and constructive policy of dialogue and cooperation, with all forces interested in peace, the socialist German state has helped shape the positive processes in the international arena with commitment. Situated on the sensitive dividing line between the two social and alliance systems in the center of Europe, it was and remains a reliable ally and partner to all forces of socialism and peace. Our alliance today has at its disposal a comprehensive peace program, the GDR foreign minister stated. Its main thesis is freeing mankind from the danger of nuclear annihilation. The disarmament process must include all types of weapons and be subject to strict controls.

The proposal recently submitted by U.S. President George Bush for the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe is a long-overdue first reaction to the prior unilateral concessions made by the Warsaw Pact states. Our alliance's proposals in the Vienna talks are radical, but feasible, he said. Their implementation will greatly reduce the two sides' weapons arsenals, ensure a stable balance at a lower level, and signify an extremely important step toward the establishment of nonaggression capability in Europe.

The GDR, the USSR, and other Warsaw Pact states have already made prior, important unilateral concessions in disarmament in the conventional sphere, which must certainly serve as an example to the NATO states. Disarmament laboriously achieved in one sphere must not be allowed to be destroyed by modernization—that is, new armament in other spheres.

Security is indivisible, and the path to it can only be carried out through respect for the principle of equality and equal security.

The GDR is in favor of the full utilization of the possibilities provided by the Helsinki Final Act and of the strengthening and further consolidation of the CSCE process, which is to lead to a firmly integrated, peaceful "European home". The Final Act can, however, only unfold its peace-promoting influence if the principles of respect for state sovereignty are respected everywhere.

Oskar Fischer stated that we continue to insist that respect for human rights and basic freedoms is also an essential factor of peace and security. As for the GDR, the basic human rights are a self-evident, tangible reality for its citizens. We do not require any lectures here from those states in which the basic political and social freedoms and rights of mankind are trampled under foot every day.

We do not hide our deep concern, said Oskar Fischer, that to the west of our state border the fascist demon is again raising its head and that neo-Nazis are becoming acceptable to society and parliament. The terrible events in recent history demand a resolute defense against these beginnings. In the 50th year after the unleashing of World War II it must be emphatically stressed that in the GDR, on socialist German soil, the lessons from the tragic events of the past have been drawn.

Your visit, the GDR politician said to his guest, is taking place at a time when the Communists and all citizens of our Republic are honorably preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of their socialist state with high work performances. With a view to the 12th party congress, the Marxist-Leninist party in a close relationship of trust with all working people is facing up at the same time to the new challenges in the further shaping of developing socialist society. We are following in close internationalist unity the persistent efforts of the Soviet people to bring alive fully and completely the merits and driving forces innate within socialism, in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, he underlined.

The GDR's support is given to the course of restructuring and renewal of all areas of social life in the USSR. We are convinced, said Oskar Fischer, that the CPSU and the Soviet people will succeed in accelerating the speed of construction and strengthening socialism and making it more attractive, which is of far-reaching, indeed historical, significance, not only for the Soviet Union itself but for the influence and appeal of socialism overall, for the effectiveness of its peace policy.

In his reply, Eduard Shevardnadze said that exchange of information on the activity of the CPSU and the SED, which is aimed at the full exploitation of the potentials of socialism, and the analysis of the implementation of the agreements between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker on the opening up of a qualitatively new level of relations between our countries, of developments in the world, and of collaboration between the USSR and the GDR in international affairs, give the present talks an exceptionally full and intensive character.

Referring to the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, about whose work people in the GDR were well-informed, he stressed that the congress, as an expression of and a high point in the process of reorganization of the country, the improvement of socialism, and the deepening and development of democratization, is creating qualitatively new conditions under which the directions of the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy are being formed. With the confirmation of the determination of Soviet people to tap the material and intellectual potential of socialism more fully, the congress without doubt is creating the conditions that make it possible to direct its advantages to the well-being of working people.

The reorganization has become a fashionable topic of discussion in the West. Now and then one hears one of the socialist countries being incorrectly placed in confrontation with others. The dishonest aims of such practices are clear and cannot mislead anyone, the Soviet foreign minister said. We adhere firmly to the principle that each fraternal country is free to fashion socialism in its own country's colors.

The multifarious ways to a common goal enrich the store of socialist experience and enable every member of the socialist family to exploit its possibilities more fully.

This year the Soviet people celebrate, together with the people of the GDR, the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Republic, of a sovereign socialist state, and of our reliable friend and ally, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed. These 4 decades convincingly prove that the existence of the socialist state, which is consistently pursuing a domestic and foreign policy that is full of initiative, peace-loving, and full of innovation and which resolutely supports respect for the existing territorial and political realities in Europe, exercises a beneficial influence on the situation in Europe and the world.

The talks in Berlin reaffirm the full concurrence of the views of the two sides, especially in regard to the fact that only the commitment of the states to political means of solving the urgent international problems can provide an adequate response to the challenge of the age. It requires us, the minister said, to hold dialogue with other countries, to seek mutually acceptable accords, and to unwaveringly clear the way for the freeing of mankind from the dangers that threaten its existence.

What can testify more eloquently to the endeavor of the Warsaw Pact states than the unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional arms they have carried out? It is clear, however, that the struggle for mankind's survival can only be won through joint efforts of all countries and peoples, irrespective of their social and class nature and their block allegiance, he said. The treaty on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles, the confidence-building measures in the military sphere that are being implemented, and the final document of the Vienna meeting testify to the effectiveness of an approach based on reason and responsibility and also on the renunciation of confrontational thinking.

I would like to reiterate the thoughts that I have already expressed at the opening of the Vienna negotiations, Eduard Shevardnadze said: The future yardstick for agreements on conventional armed forces will depend to

a large degree on restraint in the matter of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. The intention of replacing the U.S. Lance missiles stationed in the FRG with longer-range Lance-2 missiles and the rejection of an immediate start to negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons runs counter to the general trend in European and world policy. He stressed that the still fragile trust that has begun to form in relations between the states can be undermined. Therefore, the allied socialist countries consider it extremely important to hold separate negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and to enter into special consultations on their preparation without delay.

The all-European process, which is gaining in strength, makes it a matter of increasing urgency to respect the freedom of choice of social system and to dispense with unlawful claims and interference in the internal affairs of other states. The countries arrived at the Vienna consensus of their free will; invented accusations and the application of pressure of any kind and setting one country against others can destroy this consensus, Eduard Shevardnadze said in conclusion.

Honecker Receives Shevardnadze

LD0906160189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, received USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for a friendly talk this afternoon.

The two politicians had a lengthy exchange of views in the presence of other GDR and Soviet public figures at the official seat of the State Council. Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed fraternal greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

The talk was attended, among others, by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and the State Council Secretary Heinz Eichler, as well as the ambassadors of the two countries.

Report on Talks

LD0906201489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, for a friendly talk today. The guest, who is in the GDR for an official friendship visit, conveyed fraternal greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Erich Honecker informed his guest about the work of the party of the working class and its alliance partners, which was shaped by creative vigor and is rich in initiative, toward realizing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. The year 1989 was marked by especially intense political activity by the working people in honor of the GDR's 40th founding anniversary.

The SED began the period of preparation for the 12th party congress with the decisions of the 7th Central Committee session. Its social strategy provided a secure foundation for the further shaping of developed socialist society. It thereby progressed from the dialectic of continuity and renewal and used the experiences of other socialist countries.

The dynamic development of the national economy on the basis of comprehensive intensification and priority development of key technologies will be the center of attention in the future as well. This formed the foundation for successful continuation of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy for the people's well-being.

Erich Honecker stressed that the broadest involvement of the working people in the planning and organization of social processes is the guarantee for overcoming the demanding tasks facing the GDR. The local elections on 7 May 1989 became an unambiguous declaration from the citizens of the GDR in favor of their socialist state and in continuing the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy. The young people lastingly demonstrated their close alliance with the state, the SED, and their support for its policy during the Whitsun meeting.

Eduard Shevardnadze informed his host about the CPSU's experiences in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th party congress and the resolutions of the 19th party conference. The process of perestroyka has—as the Congress of People's Deputies also showed—entered a new stage, full of responsibility. From now on, political strategy will be determinedly converted into deeds, in order to achieve tangible advances in raising the people's material and cultural living standards. He stressed that the USSR completely and fully supports the efforts of the GDR people to fulfill the decision of the 11th SED Congress for the further shaping of a developed socialist society.

Erich Honecker pointed to the orientation of the seventh SED Central Committee session toward further deepening the all-around cooperation between the GDR and the USSR. He expressed the unanimous support of the SED and the people of the GDR for the course of renewal of Soviet society, which the CPSU is pursuing through carrying out the decisions of the 27th party congress. He also underlined the significance of the policy of perestroyka for strengthening socialism and securing peace in the world.

The partners in the talks expressed their satisfaction with their fraternal relations, which are without parallel in intensity and variety, between the SED and the CPSU, and between the GDR and the USSR, and spoke in

support of further deepening all-around cooperation. They affirmed their joint views on the principle issues of foreign policy and socialist construction.

The working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in September last year in Moscow had great importance for the further development of relations. It was stressed with satisfaction that the decisions made by both general secretaries are rapidly being fulfilled.

The partners in the talks underlined the resolve of the GDR and the USSR to continue to untiringly strengthen that socialist community and to expand relations with all socialist countries.

During an exchange of views on questions of the international situation, both politicians stated that the positive changes in the world last year have created favorable preconditions for a further advance in disarmament and detente. The Berlin meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers and the appeal to the NATO member states again made clear the firm determination of the socialist defense alliance to do everything to deepen this development and to make it irreversible.

Erich Honecker expressed his high assessment of the USSR's constructive and bold approach to today's urgent problems. In close fraternal links with the Soviet Union, the GDR will continue to bear responsibility for a successful shaping of the joint peace policy.

In accordance with its maxim that never again will war but only peace emanate from German soil, the GDR remains a reliable cornerstone of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe.

Erich Honecker and Eduard Shevardnadze spoke in support of continuing the policy of dialogue, cooperation, and confidence-building. This, in the 50th year after the outbreak of the devastating World War II, is a first-rate precept of reason and all political action.

The two sides stressed the importance of the negotiations begun in Vienna on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and on further confidence and security-building measures. They described the proposals for reducing conventional arms in Europe put forward by U.S. President Bush at the NATO summit in Brussels as an initiative in the right direction. The Warsaw Pact states have proved again and again with their international actions that, given the goodwill of all, the creation of a firmly based and peaceful European house can be briskly advanced.

There was agreement in noting that recognition of the post-war realities and responsible behavior in implementing the European system of treaties are also a part of the foundations of a European house. In clear contradiction to this are actions directed against state borders in Europe which, in the final analysis, are aimed at changing the territorial status quo. Both politicians also expressed their concern at increasing manifestations of neo-Nazism, which must be resolutely opposed.

Erich Honecker and Eduard Shevardnadze noted that the process of disarmament that has begun is not free from disruptive attempts by influential forces in NATO. Under the pretext of modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, an attempt is being made to wreck the laboriously achieved disarmament in one area through quantitively and qualitatively new arming in other areas. Moreover, the dangerous concept of deterrence and the striving for military superiority are being maintained.

In this connection both politicians stressed the topicality of the statement on tactical nuclear weapons adopted by the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers and of the far-reaching initiatives of the alliance, which indicate a viable way to the liberation of the European Continent from nuclear weapons of mass destruction. They also stressed the need to ban chemical weapons from the military arsenals and to bring about agreements on naval forces.

In conclusion, Erich Honecker asked his guest to convey warmest greetings to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Taking part in the meeting were Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, Secretary of the State Council Heinz Eichler, and the ambassadors of the two countries, Gerd Koenig and Vyacheslav Kochemasov.

Shevardnadze Ends Visit, Departs

LD0906180189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, ended his 1-day official friendship visit to the GDR this evening. The guest, who was invited by the GDR party and state leaders, was given a warm send-off by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. Other officials of the two countries, including ambassadors Gerd Koenig and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, were present at the departure.

The Soviet guest arrived in Berlin this morning and was welcomed by his GDR counterpart.

Joint Communique Issued

LD0906192789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 9 Jun 89

["Joint Communique on the Official Friendship Visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister to the GDR"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of the party and state leaders of the GDR, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, paid an official friendship visit to the GDR on 9 June, 1989.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Eduard Shevardnadze for a friendly talk, the focus of which was the further development and deepening of the fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR and close collaboration in the international arena.

I.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the high level and the active shaping of relations between the SED and the CPSU and the USSR and at the fraternal, equal, and trusting nature of the cooperation.

The determination was reaffirmed to cooperate very closely in the future, too, united in firm friendship and internationalist solidarity and supported by the shared views on the principle questions of socialist construction and foreign policy.

Oskar Fischer and Eduard A. Shevardnadze, the foreign ministers of the GDR and the USSR, exchanged views on matters of the further development of bilateral relations and international policy.

They noted with satisfaction that the cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the implementation of the agreements reached by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in September 1988 is developing with great dynamism and intensity. In all important areas of social life, commitments were made pertaining to deepening and expanding cooperation. These commitments are strategic in scope and reach into the new millenium. They are aimed primarily at raising the efficiency of social production, consolidating collaboration in the main directions of scientific-technical progress, deepening specialization and cooperation, and broadly expanding direct relations and other modern forms of cooperation.

The two sides agreed to cooperate in fostering language and culture, literature and art among Soviet citizens of German nationality. Establishing partnership relations between Schwerin Bezirk and Pavlodar Oblast also serves this purpose.

II.

During the exchange of views on international questions, both states announced the firm intention to shape collaboration in the implementation of the joint peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states more effectively and to make an active contribution to the elaboration and implementation of the coordinated foreign policy course.

The USSR and GDR advocate to improve the cooperation with all socialist fraternal states and to enrich it with contents commensurate with the present development stage of world socialism.

Oskar Fischer paid tribute to the normalization of the relations between the USSR and the PRC as an event of historic import for the development in the world.

The interlocutors expressed their satisfaction about the results of the meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Berlin on 11 and 12 April 1989 and emphasized the significance and topicality of the documents accepted. The GDR and USSR are going to support the implementation of the documents with all their strength.

Oskar Fischer and Eduard A. Shevardnadze praised the general improvement in the international climate, the revival of intergovernmental dialogue and the increase in the world community members' preparedness to search for mutually acceptable solutions. To this end the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries had contributed to a not inconsiderable degree. They called for purposeful efforts by all states to overcome the outdated confrontational approach and to implement the new political thinking which replaces the old enemy images with partnership cooperation in safeguarding peace in intergovernmental relations.

The GDR and USSR attach great significance to the appeal of the Warsaw Pact states to the NATO member states and advocate that direct contacts between the two military-political alliances be started and a constructive security-political dialogue be conducted.

The ministers underlined the need to increase efforts to promote the disarmament process further. They welcomed the impending resumpton of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on strategic and space weapons as the cardinal problem of the disarmament process, as well as the positive start of the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces and on confidence and security-building measures. The GDR and USSR's willingness to conduct these negotiations constructively and to work for early results was emphasizd. In this connection, the two sides referred to the proposals on the radical reduction of arms and troops of the two alliances, as submitted by the Warsaw Pact states. The unilateral disarmament steps decided on by the two countries—as well as other Warsaw Pact states in the conventional area—and already embarked upon, in addition to the announced unilateral withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear warheads by the USSR from the territory of the allied states, are convincing affirmation of their intention not to permit a pause in the disarmament process.

The foreign ministers characterized the proposal submitted by the U.S. President at the Brussels NATO summit on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe as a step in the right direction. This proposal is at present being thoroughly examined. The GDR and the USSR welcome any initiative which speeds up the Vienna talks and which can contribute to results on the basis of equal and undiminished security of all participants. The two sides called emphatically for the immediate start of

negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, spoke out against all measures for their modernization, and called for the complete liberation of Europe from nuclear weapons. They are firmly convinced that the historic opportunity now opening up to achieve a great breakthrough in all areas of military confrontation on the European Continent must be utilized. The conviction was expressed that it is necessary to conclude, as quickly as possible, an international convention on the ban and elimination of chemical weapons.

The USSR expressed support for the constructive policy of dialogue and cooperation pursued by the GDR and the initiatives it submitted, including the creation of a nuclear-free zone, a chemical weapons-free zone, and a zone of security and confidence in Central Europe.

III.

The ministers paid special attention to the all-European process for the consolidation and development of the positive trends on this continent. They called for multiplying the efforts of the states in erecting a secure "common European home" based on good-neighborliness.

Regarding the upcoming 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, it was underlined that the most important lessons of the tragic past consisted in excluding war from the life of mankind. The absolute priority of this task required of all states a responsible policy and concrete deeds for creating a world free of nuclear weapons and violence. The ministers said that strict respect for the existing territorial and political realities, the principle of the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, is the fundamental precondition for a stable peace in Europe and beyond. To this corresponds the historic duty of the two German states to do everything to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil.

The foreign ministers resolutely rejected attacks on the sovereign right of the GDR to safeguard the security and inviolability of her borders. The GDR and USSR continue to see it as their duty to uncompromisingly oppose any actions which could jeopardize peace and stability in Europe and which are incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act. At the same time, concern about increasing appearances of neo-Nazism, which call for determined unmasking and rejection, was expressed.

There was an exchange of views on the state and outlook of the relations the two states have with the FRG. Proceeding from the existing treaties, the two sides once again affirmed their interest in the development of a good-neighbor relationship with the FRG, which serves peaceful cooperation and stable security in Europe.

They affirmed the willingness to develop further relations with West Berlin on the basis of strict adherence to the full application of the quadripartite agreement of 3 September, 1971, which is an essential element in safeguarding peace and detente in Europe.

Oskar Fischer and Eduard A. Shevardnadze declared the determination of the GDR and USSR to contribute to solving all international problems and conflicts by political means. In this connection, they appealed to all sides concerned to strictly adhere to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and to work toward the quickest possible start of an intra-Afghan dialogue and the creation of a coalition government, on the broadest-possible basis, in order to end the bloodshed and reestablish peace, security, and stability in that region.

The foreign ministers signed an agreement on the establishment and work of a GDR cultural and information center in the USSR which is meant to contribute to the expansion of cooperation in the political and intellectual-cultural area.

The talks and negotiations take place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and total mutual accord. Eduard A. Shevardnadze conveyed to Oskar Fischer an invitation to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Honecker To Pay Visit To Moscow Late Jun

LD0906193189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, will pay a working visit to Moscow at the end of June, this year. As already announced, Erich Honecker will also be visiting Magnitogorsk to attend the celebrations marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of that city.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Covers Beijing Events

AU0706110489

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 6 June on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Letter of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council to All Members of the Communist Party and to the People," carries a 1,300-word reprint of the text of the letter published by RENMIN RIBAO on its front page on 5 June. In an introductory paragraph NEUES DEUTSCHLAND notes that it is publishing the letter, which calls "for increased vigilance and cohesion of all party members and the entire people to defend the fruits of the revolution."

On page 2, under the headline "Letter of the General Staff, the Political Main Administration, and the Rear Services Administration to the Troops Ordered To

Enforce the State of Emergency," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reprints the 800-word text of this letter, noting in its introductory paragraph that the letter "thanks" the troops and "pays tribute to them as steadfast fighters for the defense of the People's Republic established by the revolutionary pioneers."

On the same page, under the headline "Prevent Counterrevolutionary Riots With Determination," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries a 400-word ADN report on the appeal by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong to "all Communists, members of the Communist Youth Association, and inhabitants of the capital city to consolidate the unity and to actively support the troops that are used to prevent the riots."

The paper does not carry any other material related to the events in China.

PRC Justice Minister Ends Visit 30 May

AU0206142689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 May 89 p 2

[ADN report: "PRC Justice Minister Concludes Visit to GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The delegation of the PRC Justice Ministry headed by Justice Minister Cai Cheng concluded its visit to the GDR on Tuesday [30 May].

During his visit Minister Cai Cheng held talks with GDR Prosecutor General Guenter Wendland; Guenter Sarge, president of the GDR Supreme Court; and Erhard Krack, mayor of the capital city. In Potsdam and Dresden bezirks the delegation acquainted itself with the work of the judicial organs, in particular the courts, and visited production facilities of industry and agriculture.

Krenz Meets Head of SRV People's Control Organ

BK0406152189 Hanoi VNA in English 1512 GMT 4 Jun 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA June 4—Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and vice-president of the GDR State Council, has received in Berlin Tran Quyet, president of the Vietnamese Supreme People's Organ of Control, who is on a visit to the GDR.

Host and guest highly valued the time-honored friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two parties and states.

Tran Quyet, who is also member of the party Central Committee, expressed the Vietnamese party and people's profound gratitude to the GDR for its solidarity and valuable assistance.

1989-90 Trade Protocol Signed With Canada

LD0106111589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1007 GMT 1 Jun 89

[Text] Ottawa (ADN)—The 3rd session of the mixed commission, set up within the framework of the GDR-Canada trade agreement has ended with the signing of a working protocol for 1989/90 in Ottawa.

The document provides for measures for the expansion of trade, in particular products in engineering, electrical engineering/electronics, scientific instrument manufacture, equipment for the extraction and processing of raw materials and products from light industry and agriculture. Trade in scientific-technical products and forms of industrial cooperation, including joint work in third markets, is to be expanded.

The two sides underlined that developed, mutually advantageous trade and economic relations are an important contribution to peace preservation and detente. In Canada's view the free trade agreement which recently came into effect between Canada and the United States will not damage trade with the GDR.

The head of the GDR delegation, Christian Meyer, deputy foreign trade minister, had talks with Minister of State Charles Mayer and leading representatives of ministries and Canadian industrialists. He also met ministers of the provincial governments of Quebec and Alberta for an exchange of views. The two provinces are to exhibit their products at the 1989 Leipzig Fall Fair.

Reaction to Hungarian Border Opening Noted

AU2905094689 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 May 89 p 16

[Unattributed article: "No Loophole for GDR"]

[Text] The elimination of border barriers between Hungary and Austria has given rise to false expectations among GDR citizens who are tired of their republic saying that this would open a loophole to the West. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is still uncertain how to react to the relaxation in Hungary. East Berlin has not—yet—imposed any official restrictions on tourist trips to Hungary. The authorities have limited themselves to denying the necessary exit visas in specific cases. However, after dismantling the border installations at their border to the West, the Hungarians have drastically stepped up and extended checks over large parts of the hinterland, apparently because they want to avoid a conflict with the SED. GDR citizens who are caught by patrols in the extended border area have no chance and are extradited to the GDR. A couple from Schwerin—electrician Joerg Kaeckenmeister and midwife Katrin Ahrend, both aged 22—have been detained since 9 May. On 25 April they were seized by Hungarian security officials far from the Austrian border, and after 2 weeks in a Budapest prison the couple was deported to

East Berlin on an airplane. There they were arrested immediately and they are facing trial for having attempted to flee the GDR (maximum penalty: 8 years).

SED Delegation Attends Funeral of SEW Chairman

AU3005132989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 May 89 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] Berlin (West)—On Thursday [25 May] the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin paid farewell to its chairman Horst Schmitt, who died on 22 April at the age of 63. [passage omitted]

Twenty communist and workers parties from socialist states and capitalist countries in Europe and liberation movements had sent delegations to pay their last respects to the esteemed functionary of the workers movement. The delegation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which conveyed condolences to the members of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin on the painful loss, was headed by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. It included Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Central Committee members Heinz Geggel, Erich Hanhn, and Helmut Mueller; and Central Committee candidate member Jochen Willerding. The delegation of the German Communist Party was headed by Chairman Herbert Mies. [passage omitted]

FRG Citizen Arrested for Military Espionage

LD0706153989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1241 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—FRG citizen Peter Sch. [name as received] has been detained for military espionage on behalf of the Federal Intelligence Service (BND). Investigative proceedings were instituted and an arrest warrant issued.

Evangelical Church To Protest to State Council

AU0906115889 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 9 Jun 89 p 1

[Karl-Heinz Baum report: "GDR Church Will Hand Over Petition Itself; Resolution on Electoral Fraud Goes to State Council; 120 Demonstrators Released Again"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—After the violent action taken by the GDR security authorities against approximately 200 young people, the Evangelical Church Directorate in East Berlin has decided to hand over the young people's petition on the "electoral fraud" to the State Council. This was announced by Hans-Otto Fuhrian of the Berlin-Brandenburg Evangelical Church on Thursday [8 June]. In the night from Wednesday to Thursday and on early Thursday morning, the East Berlin police released all 120 young people who had been removed, partly with brute force, after a protest demonstration against the election proceedings of 7 May in front of St Sophia Church on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Journalists who wanted to observe the demonstration were prevented from doing their work. The security organs also kicked them. The journalists were requested to leave the square.

The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU chief editor has protested against the obstruction of its correspondent to the GDR Foreign Ministry in East Berlin and demanded that the correspondent be enabled to do his work according to the inner-German treaties. The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU regards the GDR authorities' behavior toward the correspondent as a violation of the Basic Law agreements of the two German states and of the declarations of intent on journalistic work recently signed by all states in Vienna.

Shooting Incident Reported at Romanian Border

AU1206113489 Budapest MTI in English
1759 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—Colonel Sandor Barna, chief commissioner of the Csongrad county police, told journalists on Friday that on June 4, Sunday, at dawn separate and serial shots were heard and the light of signal rockets seen in the vicinity of Nagylak on the Romanian side of the border. This was observed by both locals and frontier guards who, in Hungarian territory, rushed in the direction of the shooting. They saw Romanian frontier guards chasing and surrounding three persons in civilian clothes, including a woman. None of the shots violated Hungarian territory. On June 8, Thursday, in the same region a Hungarian fisherman found a girl's body in the Maros River, pulled it out to a sand island and notified the frontier guard. As the island belongs to Romania, no Hungarian police investigations can be carried out there. On Friday morning the Romanian authorities examined the body in the presence of the Hungarian frontier officer. Although they found no traces of gunshot on the body, the child's ear bleeded because of a head injury caused by a blow or a shock. No connection was revealed between the two events. The Romanian authorities denied to have captured people, stating that what the eyewitnesses saw from the Hungarian side was an exercise to arrest presumed terrorists.

Nemeth, Szuros Plan To Attend Nagy Funeral

LD0806204589 Budapest MTI in English
1154 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 8 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, are to represent parliament and the government at the June 16 funeral of Imre Nagy and associates, all unlawfully executed after 1956.

Agreement to this effect was reached between representatives of parliament, the government and the Committee for Historical Justice in the parliament building, Budapest, on Thursday morning. The meeting was attended by Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth and, on behalf of the Committee for Historical Justice, by Miklos Vasarhelyi, Imre Mecs, Andras B. Hegedus and Arpad Goncz.

Supreme Court Asked To Invalidate Nagy Ruling

LD0906132189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] We have just received news that the supreme prosecutor has submitted a protest on legal grounds regarding the case of Imre Nagy and his martyr associates, and he asks the Presidential Council of the Supreme Court to invalidate the illegal verdicts and to acquit Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donat, Miklos Gimes, Zoltan Tildy, Pal Maleter, Sandor Kopacsi, Jozsef Szilagyi, Ferenc Janosi, and Miklos Vasarhelyi.

On the basis of investigations, the Supreme Prosecution has ascertained that the authorities dealing with the case at the time severely and in sequence violated the then valid regulations of the rules of court. They limited the accused's rights of freedom and defense. The prosecution almost exclusively gathered and utilized data considered incriminating. They refrained from gathering evidence that would disprove guilt.

The accusation was unfounded and illegal. Further, the prosecution against the case of Imre Nagy and his associates was not necessary because the verdict does not contain any statement at all which would correspond to the criterion of any kind of crime defined by the then legal regulations.

The documents, which were recently obtained from Yugoslavia, prove that in November 1956, the Hungarian Government gave a written guarantee to Imre Nagy and his associates who were staying at the Budapest Yugoslav Embassy stating that they were not going to make any kind of reprisal against them. Personal immunity based on international law should have been given to those who were later sentenced, which, even according to laws at the time, would have been the obstacle to their being punished.

Pozgay Interviewed on Imre Nagy's Legacy

LD1006194389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 10 Jun 89

[From the "168 hours" program; Akos Mester interview with Imre Pozgay, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] What is the value of the spiritual legacy of Imre Nagy and his fellow fighters today? What is valid in the example of their lives? Imre Pozsgay is interviewed by Akos Mester.

[Mester] I acknowledge that the question with which I begin this conversation is oversimplified in view of the complexity of the answer that it requires. How do you see Imre Nagy's historical role?

[Pozsgay] Indeed, this is a very difficult question to answer, probably because we lack the necessary knowledge. But perhaps even more difficult because what happened to him burdens the conscience of a whole age and it is now that we are trying to face up to the facts. I am certain—and for this no particular research is needed—that in 1953 he was the first statesman in Eastern Europe to take a truly determined step toward the dismemberment of the Stalinist structure, its destruction. He was the one who through his own fate experienced the consequences of the so-called roll-back; and I am sure that at the time of the 1956 popular uprising, too, he fought for the creation of a free, independent, and democratic Hungary, in line with the same reform spirit and also under the pressure of the popular uprising.

Taking these facts into consideration, and also weighing all his political acts, one can only reach one conclusion, namely that we owe him justice. It is unavoidable to give him justice; and this is what will take place on 16 June at the funeral ceremony.

Although the funeral of Imre Nagy and those who shared his fate is organized by an independent organization—the Committee for Historical Justice—and the families, this event on 16 June will be a matter for the nation, the end of a historical period. Perhaps the momentum of self-purification will also be involved and we hope that it will bring about national reconciliation.

[Mester] Yes, but can we close a historical period when in the weeks before the funeral there are opposing camps which try to claim Imre Nagy, as a historical personality, as their own?

[Pozsgay] This is something that generally happens to historical personalities. This is true because his life and his life's work carry values from which everyone would like to benefit. I would only regard this as a problem if this would once again be a cause for opposition and a continuation of the trials, if it were to give rise to rancor, or if it were to increase the dangers besetting the country. However, I believe that with the exception of the extremists—people who are also confused in their attitudes to themselves—the majority's will, the fundamental will, is something different.

[Mester] The life's work of Imre Nagy and of those who shared his fate has a validity which is felt to this day. It is this which justifies the question: What do the lessons of 1956 mean in 1989?

[Pozsgay] First of all, that as early as 1956 all those important issues which occupy Hungarian society and public opinion today had been formulated. This includes all the criticism of the Stalinist type of dictatorial socialism, the demand for political institutions based on the new type of conscious and self-directed citizen, concerning civil society, the multiparty system, the political manifestation of pluralism. The lesson is that had it been possible to realize all this in 1956 and in the years before that, within the framework of an honorable political struggle, peacefully, then the popular uprising would have been avoidable.

If this is the lesson, then I believe that in organizing in 1989 for the solution of the very same basic issues it is possible to reach a peaceful transition, I believe that it is possible to create human cooperation and solidarity among Hungarians; that there will not be self-destructive, tragic, catastrophic events; and that, avoiding these, Hungary will solve its problems.

[Mester] Yes, but the mere fact that you have brought this up shows that there are certain analogies. According to many people, your public activities, your commitment to reform, strongly recall Imre Nagy's political approach. So the possibility cannot be excluded that just like Imre Nagy, you too, even if in a different form, might become the victim of your own party.

[Pozsgay] This is not impossible either. A politician must think such things through as well, particularly if I accept what you have just said, namely that I regard what Imre Nagy did as one of the precursors of my own activities, even if this was not necessarily the motive force of my actions at every turning point. If I immerse myself in the study of this period, if I acquaint myself with Imre Nagy's initiatives, then I have to say that I can still identify with his goals. However, I hope that the fate will be different, because though it is beyond question that the majority in society agrees with me—I have been able to verify this in many ways—I have also found that if I can come into direct contact with the party membership, I can also persuade them of the truth of my ideas.

Nonetheless, there are also murderous passions in this country, the passions of a minority who have had the ground taken from under their feet but whose interests and groundlessness are tied to the institutional form which has long lost its validity—which we often call dictatorial socialism—with which the people never identified itself. Thus, even today these people tend to think in terms of force rather than in terms of politics. I know of such people. Nonetheless, I believe and my experience shows that they are in the minority, that they like to be with each other; and this is why they do not leave where they should have left a long time ago.

I know that it is like shouting in the wilderness to call upon these people to do this; nonetheless, I hope that they show some sense of reality and that they are isolated, for in reality they have never lived with the people, though they have never stopped speaking of the people. They have always spoken about the working class, they always cherish a working class mythology in themselves merely to claim some sort of intellectual foothold, while during the past 40 years the worker has never experienced that which they proclaimed. The worker never felt that he was in power, never felt that he had the possibility of self-determination. Rather, he always felt that they were misusing his name, the term "worker."

Well, this is why it is my view that it is not the use of the word "worker" which shows a feeling of solidarity with the workers but rather when someone also tries to act and tries to create a system where they can feel happy, where they receive scope for action and security of existence.

[Mester] So the exit from power of these people is only one of the preconditions for national reconciliation. I think that there are a host of preconditions for national reconciliation.

[Pozsgay] Yes, there are even bigger barriers in the way of national reconciliation than the stirring of such imbedded insects. The biggest barrier is the situation of the people, which is far from rosy. The situation of the people is extremely difficult; impoverishment is advancing at a rapid rate; the circumstances of life are deteriorating; people cannot protect even that which has been achieved, even with overtime and excess efforts. This is where I see the really great danger: That they will not understand that it is those who caused the great problems who are now referring to them in the name of curing the problems, that they will not notice that this decline of the country was caused by the functioning of the system of those who as the proud one-time possessors of posts think that they can once again become the saviors of the people. These savior of the people must be revealed to the people; it must be shown where they have come from and what they did during the past decades.

[Mester] In Hungarian public life the intention to improve things comes from various directions. The event on Wednesday where you were also present, as the number one person of a new movement, a movement which calls itself the Movement for a Democratic Hungary, was also perhaps one manifestation of this. I have already heard a number of contradictory views. One of them asserts that there is some sort of elitism involved here, another that it is a faction of whining intellectuals, while a third says that this movement is the beginning of the organization of a party split.

[Pozsgay] Let me start with the last of these points. I do now know the bogyman they call a party split. In a European political culture this is one of the most natural things and not something in the sphere of traumatology. But this was not what was involved here and now. Rather, it stemmed from the intention that among the political movements moving in different directions, having various intentions but possessing the will to improve matters, there should be one which can play a mediating role between the healthy, well-meaning large majority inside the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the various other parties, movements, and institutions, mobilizing people to create through peaceful means the reform, the new model to replace dictatorical socialism, a democratic Hungary. Somebody always has to formulate these mature necessities. But just this does not make it an elitist movement. On the contrary, its role is to create a link with the silent majority, which is endangered from many directions. I also have in mind that which I just spoke about, namely that without a genuine political orientation, the silent majority might come under the influence of the extremists and social demagogues, might become victims of misleading actions, whereas an open dialogue can turn society into mature citizens. It is in the joint creation of this maturity that we want to engage and not in a pedagogical campaign. This movement would also like to undertake to clear away of this previous all-knowing, omnipotent view of the party, this condescending and paternalistic approach.

[Mester] At the May party conference you concluded your speech by saying that there will be a Hungarian resurgence. Do you think that you now have more allies for this goal than you had in those days, in May?

[Pozsgay] I think so and my experience shows that. I am skeptical, very self-critical regarding my own abilites and possibilities. But I am optimistic regarding the situation. Hungary has never had such a good chance of bringing about a new statehood through self-determination, as a sovereign country; and through this new statehood, a new popular spirit and society.

Politburo Member Nyers Interviewed on Nagy Issue

LD1006231989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 10 Jun 89

[From the "168 Hours" program; Eszter Raday interview with Reszo Nyers, Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party Politburo member and minister of state; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Raday] To the simple reader, it is striking how there is lacking a logic in the events. There is no logic that in November of 1956, Janos Kadar made a promise of inculpability. In 1957, he promised that the number of political prisoners would be reduced, and this was realized in part. And the real reprisals came in 1958.

[Nyers] At the beginning of 1957, Imre Nagy was offered participation in the government. Thus, talks of reconciliation were initiated. Imre Nagy was not willing to do this, owing to the armed character of the events, that Janos Kadar's men came into the capital with the assistance of Soviet troops, and then he disputed the legitimacy of the government of the time. That is why he was not willing.

[Raday] We already know, or perhaps we, or they, knew at the time that there was reason for dispute, for disputing the legitimacy.

[Nyers] Well, very few people knew that. Rather, the historical documents reveal that this is how it was. However, the statement of Janos Kadar at the time was also published in the newspapers; in this he indicated the possibility that Imre Nagy could enter the government. Thus, these political accusations were not voiced in this manner. Later, it was 1958 already, when these political accusations were voiced; of course in 1957 already, at the party conference, Jozsef Revai represented vigorously the political accusation that Imre Nagy had distorted policy in the direction of revisionism, and at the time this was a very grave accusation. Then, in 1958 it gained strength, in connection with their—the Imre Nagy Government—having espoused leaving the Warsaw Pact.

[Raday] You say that it gained strength, but this process obviously did not take place on its own. Weren't there people behind it?

[Nyers] Behind it were people, disputes, within and outside the country as well. It has not been fully researched, yet, but we know that Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Romania, and China were the five countries which dealt most intensively with the Hungarian question from the end of October 1956 throughout, and who had a role in the Hungarian political events being viewed as an international issue, as well. However, the complete researching of this is still in progress.

[Raday] By the way, there is a series of entirely illogical things, here, which by all means raises the question of: If it was not the decision of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], of the party, which played a role in the sentencing of Imre Nagy's men, as Karoly Grosz, for example, said not long ago, then what played a role in it? Is it possible that it was not the decision of the MSZMP which played a role in it?

[Nyers] Please, politically, the MSZMP leadership by all means had to play a role in making the role of Imre Nagy the subject of an accusation. Regarding what kind of decision was reached, I do not dare say that the MSZMP influenced this. I am not acquainted with the development of the trial. It is only now that I heard, from a tape-recording, the trial's very short closing ritual. I did not know anything about it.

[Raday] Are you serious, that, as a Central Committee member, you knew nothing?

[Nyers] Nothing. The Central Committee was not informed of anything. Nor the other Central Committee members. We knew nothing.

So, regarding the MSZMP, of course it can not be said that it was outside the MSZMP, but the party-state here did not mean that judicial action and party action were organically interconnected. No. Janos Kadar carefully watched over this, so we did not know anything.

[Raday] But if not directly, for all that it could have been indirectly connected.

[Nyers] It could have been indirectly connected.

The historians who now are (?dissecting) the matter, in its preresearched condition, would be better at saying this. Isn't it so, you are asking that there must be something and someone who staged it. I as well say that there must be someone who staged it. It either was X, in Hungary, or abroad, Hungarians or foreigners in Hungary, or both. Nor do we know the distribution of roles.

[Raday] I am certain that Janos Kadar is perhaps one of the last who could say something about this.

[Nyers] Janos Kadar is the one who could say the most about this. Please; the following people had a role in it: before Janos Kadar—Khrushchev, Tito, and only after them Kadar, then Zhou Enlai and Gheorghiu-Dej. I regard these as the five people—of course other members of the Soviet leadership were also involved—but these symbolize the international factor, concerning who had a role. They agreed that the Imre Nagy government could not hold its own on 2 November 1956. There are many statistics on this; memoires on this subject have also been published. It could not hold its own, so a very strong, counterrevolutionary, right-wing, and anti-democratic danger was appearing which was sweeping away this government, with everything it had, and this was dangerous for the socialist countries, it was dangerous for European peace and for Hungary, as well. That was the original decision.

Then, in the reprisals, this unity certainly broke down, but it is a complete mystery to me, and to my knowledge it is so to others, as well, how these international factors played a role in the decision in 1958. What we know is that Tito had withdrawn at this point.

[Raday] If it is a mystery; while disconnecting the Hungary party, can a Hungarian court be given a decision requisition, or instruction?

[Nyers] In principle a Hungarian court can not be given an instruction, it cannot be given one officially. In my opinion, it was not even given one which was officially written down. That is dead certain. There were, and are, informal relations. I cannot say what informal relations might have played a role here.

[Raday] You said earlier that as a Central Committee member and as a government commissioner with ministerial rank, you did not know....

[Nyers, interrupting] I resigned my position as government commissioner in March of 1957. Only until then was I in that position.

[Raday] Did you resign because you did not agree with something, or because you had completed your task?

[Nyers] I had completed my task, and there was a conflict, as well....

[Raday, interrupting] Was it a political conflict?

[Nyers] It was not directly political; rather, it in part concerned economic policy and in part it was also political.

[Raday] Surely you have found out that some members of the Committee for Historical Justice have lodged objections to your presence at the funeral, not because of your person, but because you were a member of this revolutionary workers'-peasant government which can be held responsible for the reprisals.

[Nyers] I do not have accurate information, but I was not a member of the revolutionary workers'-peasant government; only from 1960....

[Raday, interrupting] But your having been a government commissioner, doesn't that mean....

[Nyers] Yes, that did not entail membership in the government. To my knowledge, it was not raised in this manner, but that I was a member of the party Central Committee—and I really was. Please, I say that the Committee for Historical Justice, which is staging the funeral, has the right to adopt all kinds of positions, since it is their business. I cannot take a stand in this.

What is a question which generally arises in current Hungarian politics—and it is not that—is the question of who is the credible figure? I believe that there is very great confusion in this. And I oppose every stand in which valuable party or national politicians are proclaimed to lack credibility, because of earlier political actions or earlier political stands. The Rakosiite political leadership committed this mistake, in Hungary, in a very heavy, criminal manner. To commit this mistake in the spirit of democracy is as anti-democratic as that of Rakosi's men. In vain does one wave the flag of democracy.

It is necessary to free ourselves from this uncultured and antidemocratic tradition—and Hungary has had a long-standing tradition of this.

Grosz, Party Members View 'Looming' Split

LD1006202689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Let all the party houses display black and national flags on the day of the burial of Imre Nagy and his companions. This was proposed at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Gyor-Sopron county party conference. At the meeting, also attended by party general secretary Karoly Grosz, the delegates first approved draft standpoints on democratization in Hungary, on the talks to be begun with the opposition roundtable, and on the condemnation of the bloody events in China.

The standpoint in connection with the opposition roundtable highlights that, in the interests of the success of the talks, the MSZMP Central Committee should be more patient and responsible than before so that an agreement can be reached within a foreseeable time.

Laszlo Lakatos, first secretary of the MSZMP Gyor-Sopron county committee, said that a party split is looming; public opinion is blaming the party and the party members are blaming the Central Committee and its leaders for this.

Those participating in the debate referred to the contradictory statements made by members of the Politburo, which unequivocally indicate that there is no unity in the leadership. The participants in the conference called on the Central Committee to take steps in the interests of solidarity and warding off a catastrophe. At the party conference, they supported the convening of a congress. The delegates urged that at the congress an elected Central Committee be the center of the political reform of the MSZMP.

Grosz Interviewed 9 Jun on New Social Groupings

LD0906195389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Experts of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the opposition roundtable have agreed to commence substantive political negotiations. The document on commencing talks will be signed tomorrow. Three parties of equal standing will take part in these: the opposition roundtable, the MSZMP, as well as a joint delegation of the following organizations: the left-wing Alternative Association, the Patriotic People's Front, Hungarian Democratic Youth League, the Association of Hungarian Resistance-Fighters and Anti-Fascists, the National Council of Hungarian Women, the Ferenc Muennich Society and the National Trade Union Council. Gyorgy Sebes asked the MSZMP general secretary about this:

[Begin recording] [Sebes] Without a doubt, the news of the day is that the supreme prosecutor has submitted a protest on legal grounds in the case of Imre Nagy and his associates. Since yesterday, we have known that a member of the Poltburo—the prime minister—and a member of the Central Committee, speaker of the National Assembly, will, at the head of the delegation, place a wreath at the funeral of Imre Nagy next Friday [16 June]. How do you view these developments?

[Grosz] I consider this to be a natural and very important episode in the [word indistinct] reconciliation process, since Imre Nagy was president of the Hungarian National Assembly. Imre Nagy was also prime minister. Thus, it is natural that state leaders should pay tribute at the funeral. The paying of respects is an obligatory gesture on the part of all of us. We do it sincerely, from the depths of our hearts, and as we have become acquainted with the facts, we have had to recognize that all which we had believed for a long time was not proved and supported by objective facts. What has happened cannot be rendered into not having happened—but it is a moral and political (?duty) to give final respects.

[Sebes] The domestic political developments of the past days reflect the creation of new forums one after the other. On Wednesday, the Movement for a Democratic Hungary was founded. Tomorrow, the New March Front is preparing to turn into a free forum.

[Grosz] I did not know earlier that an endeavor like the Movement for a Democratic Hungary was being prepared, although it generally is an established practice in our country that if our party's political leaders take part in organizing such a grouping, the bodies are informed in advance. I, properly speaking, learned from the newspaper that this movement had been founded, and I do not know much about its objectives. From its appeal, I dare

conclude that it appears to be organizing itself into some kind of party, since there are expressions in it to the effect that we support one another's endeavours, or their objectives should be asserted.

I am also acquainted with the original objectives of the New March Front. I for my part, supported them, considered them correct, and to date, since its creation, it has approached every social problem in a very constructive way. To be sure, this is also how it will be in the future. If a social grouping supports the party's political endeavors, that is good. If an alternative organization opposed to the party develops, it does not accord with the party's interests since it (?divides) the party's leadership. In the case of the March Front, I earlier did not encounter such experiences. In the case of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary, time will answer the questions of how and in what manner it will develop. Insofar as this political grouping shapes itself in opposition to the party and becomes an organization, it is not by any means good for the MSZMP, because in my perception it would be a step equivalent to the party split.

[Sebes] The MSZMP's high-level talks with the opposition roundtable are imminent.

[Grosz] The experts have prepared the scenario—properly speaking, the preliminary agreement concerning which spheres of topics we should discuss, and we have also proposed a date. I hope that there will be useful, constructive discussions. I trust that albeit obviously it will not be without debate, the experts will be able to put proposals on the table, which all of us can sign, since the objective is that further progress [words indistinct] with the least possible conflict, with the most effective cooperative possible.

Grosz Responds to Call for Resignation

LD1006203789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Interested party members were shoved out of the Gyor-Sopron county party conference. Only the 380 delegates and the invited guests got into the hall at the Raba Factory in Gyor; they included General Secretary Karoly Grosz. Marta Pio reports on the details.

[Pio] [Passage omitted] Among the contributors was the delegate who had asked for Karoly Grosz resignation at the Gyor town party conference. Now, in the presence of the general secretary, she reiterated: In her view he is unsuited to perform the task of general secretary. Karoly Grosz took the floor in the afternoon.

[Begin Grosz recording] The party membership should qualify the various currents; the party membership should qualify the representatives of the currents. And if a current is rejected, the current and its representatives must draw conclusions. From the workers movement, at present I as well can list innumerable parties which for years, indeed for decades, have borne the various currents alongside one another; they debate with one another. But if the party faces a task which demands unity, the currents must subordinate the debate to the party's common objectives.

Before elections, it is not customary for a single party to conduct a platform debate. A platform debate is conducted when it has completed the elections, because it is preparing for the next elections. In time, it brings out the opinions and the differences of opinion are resolved by the party in debate. However, in our country the cadence is in reverse. Now we are debating at a time when unity is necessary so that we can attain the larger goal: to win the elections.

I do not usually speak about it, but perhaps you think it is unpleasant for me. However, the person of the general secretary also pertains to this. The female comrade [word indistinct]. In this, it is not the general secretary who must speak, but the party membership. The party membership must decide who it wants to see heading the party. All in all, I am doing my job and I also consider it an honor that I have been accepted in the party's leadership to date. [end recording]

Party, Opposition Roundtable To Begin 13 Jun

LD1006195289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1552 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In the spirit of national reconciliation and political resurgence, the experts of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the opposition roundtable have agreed to begin substantive political negotiations, MTI reported today. [passage omitted]

Andras Kerekes reports.

[Kerekes] On Tuesday in the parliament building, substantive political negotiations will begin between the MSZMP, the opposition roundtable, and—here I would have to begin a long list, because seven names could be read, in the document signed this afternoon, as representing the third side. At the international press conference which just ended, and which was followed with much interest, SZOT [National Trade Union Council] Secretary Mrs Kosa, nee Magdolna Kovacs, led the discusion on their behalf, and she said that at the negotiations the patriotic People's Front will expound its stand on political issues, and the National Trade Union Council will do so on economic topics.

Although I am confused as to actually how many sides the Tuesday table will have, we were given reassuring answers to some questions, not primarily here at the news conference but at the preparatory talks. Dr Peter Toelgyessy said, on behalf of the opposition roundtable, that they had also agreed that from now on, legislation can no longer precede the—what should I call it, for the sake of simplicity? —political agreement that is reached

at the table. This is also valid for the next National Assembly session which begins on 27 June. That is, if there is no agreement on a given issue of the proposed agenda, the deputies cannot begin to deliberate on the topic. By the way, the plenary sessions will be held in the parliament building, and will be chaired by national Assembly Speaker Matyas Szueros. Television cameras and radio microphones, will also be present.

Beyond this, experts will hold talks in seven committees, and since they will have to come to agreement on strategic issues, it is not surprising that politics will be the main protagonist in six committees, economics in the seventh. It is not a mistaking of proportions; it is just easier to handle the economy, strategically, as a complex, and this is how it should be handled. I shall now quickly list some of the earliest topics to be put on the table: the amendment of the Constitution, the electoral law, the date of the elections, the Party Law, certain elements of the Penal Code, guarantees against a violent restoration, problems of proprietorship rights relating to the net welfare protection, and so forth.

Another thing: Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti announced that General Secretary Karoly Grosz would head the MSZMP delegation. We were unable to learn who will sit beside him, or who will sit opposite him, and a little to the side. Thus, again I am confused regarding the direction; all that I know is that public opinion will be there.

Further on Roundtable Talks

LD1006205789 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI)—Genuine political talks between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the opposition roundtable, and the social organizations and movements are to begin on Tuesday, June 13, in the parliament, under the chairmanship of Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly—it was announced at an international press conference held on Saturday. The relevant agreement was signed by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee, and nine representatives of the opposition roundtable: Tibor Baranyai (Social Democratic Party of Hungary), Gabor Fodor (Federation of Young Democrats, FIDESZ), Peter Hardi (Independent Smallholders' Party), Imre Kerenyi (Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions), Laszlo Solyom (Hungarian Democratic Forum, MDF), Gyorgy Szakolczai (Christian Democratic People's Party), Peter Tolgyessy (Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ), Csaba Varga (Hungarian People's Party), Zsolt Zetenyi (Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society). On behalf of the third party to the negotiations, the agreement was signed by Ferenc Berenyi (Ferenc Munnich Society), Ferenc Gyurcsany (Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation), Csaba Kemeny (Left-Wing Alternative Association), Imre Kerekes (Federation of Hungarian Anti-Fascists and Resistance Fighters), Istvan Kukorelli (Patriotic People's Front), Mrs Magda Kosa (Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, SZOT), and Mrs Maria Scos (National Council of Hungarian Women).

According to the document, the equal negotiating sides accept that popular sovereignty is the basis of power. No single political force can expropriate sovereignty. Public will should be manifest in free elections, the results of which bind all concerned. Political conflicts can be solved only with peaceful means, free from violence. No single social organization can decree over the armed bodies. The aim of the talks is to create agreements of a political character which form the basis of the necessary state and legal measures. However, the conference does not exercise direct constitutional law functions.

All three sides to the talks have identical rights in the course of shaping consensus. The agreement also sets down that the opposition roundtable approved the involvement of the social organizations and movements outside the HSWP in the genuine talks as a compromise proposal with the stipulation that they voice support for the reaching of agreement between the HSWP and the opposition roundtable and wish to become active participants in this process.

It was also reported that Hungarian television is to provide live coverage of the talks beginning on Tuesday. The HSWP delegation is to be led by General Secretary Karoly Grosz. [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2000 GMT on 10 June reports that the first meeting will begin at 1500 GMT]

New Party Launched in Budapest 11 Jun

LD1106202589 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 11 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's Party was set up on Sunday in Budapest. The party is the successor of the National Peasants' Party, founded 50 years ago, which was never dissolved politically and legally, but whose operation has been discontinued since 1948, and of the Petofi Party. The programme of the Hungarian People's Party attaches a major role to humanized market economy, to property reform, within this the security of private property, to the renewal of cultural policy, to the creation of free self-government. According to the People's Party, parliamentary elections could be held in the spring of 1990, and local elections should be held afterwards. The People's Party will mainly represent the peasantry, which has been considerably transformed both in its way of life and thinking, and the strata who became workers, employees or intellectuals from the former peasantry. The local organizations of the Hungarian People's Party can carry out an independent policy, the upholding of the minority opinion and the founding of platforms are fundamental rights.

Rainer Stefan, representative of the Austrian People's Party, and Janusz Rozek, representative of the Polish Peasant Solidarity, were foreign guests of the rally of the People's Party.

Pozsgay on 'Movement for Democratic Hungary'

LD0806091389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] The various forces of the order party dictatorship [as heard] and revenge are dangerously present and can become stronger. Among other things, this is what the draft appeal which was formulated today by the organizers of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary contains. This movement wishes to gather those people who undertake the national ascent, European progression, and the values of democratic socialism together. Laszlo Juszt reports from the founding session.

[Begin recording] [Juszt] What could this organization be called, to the founding of which you have just arrived?

[Pozsgay] I do not even know whether it is an organization or perhaps a movement, but the initiators have already given a name to it: Movement for a Democratic Hungary.

[Juszt] Who were the initiators? According to the news, you were the initiator.

[Pozsgay] I was also asked to take part in this movement but this was talked about first in Szeged, at the meeting of the reform circles.

[Juszt] Several people believe that this could be the core of a future party, too.

[Pozsgay] I do not necessarily believe that one always should think in the category of a party when gathering of political strength is carried out. Here, now, the force of reform are gathering regardless their party membership or ideological belonging.

[Juszt] So, do you reject the assumption that this is the basis of a future party?

[Pozsgay] I do not consider it impossible, but I do not think that this intention would have brought the participants of today's meeting together.

[Juszt] I read in MAI NAP [TODAY] that his new organization is to be founded for the democratic transformation.

[Szuros] That is right.

[Juszt] But there one such organization has already been founded, the New March Front. Do you not participate in that?

[Szuros] I take part in that as well, and also in this one.

[Juszt] So what is the difference?

[Szuros] Well, the situation is that I, as chairman of the National Assembly, have to exhibit unbiased behavior. I look and listen to this as well. I consider its objectives practical and correct. However, on Saturday, I will participate in the founding session of the New March Front, on Sunday, I am going to participate in the founding of the people's party, etc.

[Juszt] So, practically, you pay attention to everything.

[Szuros] The chairman of the National Assembly has to pay attention to everything.

[Juszt] Do you take part in any of these organizations as a member?

[Szuros] No, not as a member.

[Juszt] The appeal says that it is the founding of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary. Both you and Imre Pozsgay occupy a position in the government power in which, it is not only your possibility but, I think, it is also your duty to fight for democracy and for the constitutional statehood. In that position—that is, as minister of interior or as minister of state, do you not have the possibility?

[Szuros] Today, I think that the possibilities are increasingly better for this and the gates are opening forever wider. There was doubtless an earlier period, I was in similar position then too, when in a different structure, these possibilities were much more closed. [end recording]

Participant Views Discussions

LD0806095689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Jun

[Text] Today those wanting a democratic Hungary convened in Budapest for a session to prepare its foundation. Imre Pozsgay gave the introductory speech and among other things he emphasized that the movement intends to pull together people who accept simultaneously the values of the rise of the nation, European progress and democratic socialism regardless of the participants' party affiliation or organizational membership. The discussion was chaired by university lecturer Ferenc Gazso. Andras Kerekes interviewed him.

[Begin recording] [Kerekes] What is the aim of such a movement?

[Gazso] The movement's objective is to open a road for people committed to social transformation and democratic change in society and to change in the social model of politics and participation in politics regardless of party affiliation. In other words, it is not a movement which is intent on becoming a party but it wants to ensure a platform and means for those groups and individuals belonging to any party or even independent

individuals to exercise politics; it is a very wide call. It is a movement which interprets and represents the objectives of transforming society even at the local community level, formulated by local society.

[Kerekes] You mentioned, and Imre Pozsgay in his introduction emphasized especially that a great many personalities are needed in this movement. Can this peculiar feature be taken into account when the program is drawn up?

[Gazso] Of course, this is not a party and therefore it is not a party program which needs to be drawn up but the forums of social activity need to be expanded. If such forms are set up in a given form then people wanting to participate in the sphere of local society will find those meaningful models of action and objectives. These need not be laid down for them from the outside and above with a kind of descending authority, but, the program itself can be the joint product of the participants.

[Kerekes] At the meeting the organizational committee gave itself approximately 4 weeks; can you give us a timetable?

[Gazso] Within a few days the preparation committee will meet and decide the preliminary tasks and will carefully examine ways in which those things discussed at the consultation can be used and incorporated into this work. In other words, the organizational work for the preparation of the movement is not confined exclusively to input from a few members of the organizational committee but it will include the collective wisdom which has surfaced in today's debate too. I do not know yet when such debating material will come together which can then be distributed for further consultation, even prior to the founding session, to those participating, in order to solicit written or oral reactions about the ideas so that we can convene a founding session, which is as well prepared as possible, in approximately 4-5 weeks.

[Kerekes] Do you see any chance that the Movement for a Democratic Hungary will become a mass movement which will be strongly established in Hungarian public life as early as the autumn?

[Gazso] On the basis of what has been said today this is a real possibility. We are, in fact, endeavoring to make this movement a mass movement which does not stay within the framework of a group of intelligentsia involved in politics, but one which steps outside this framework and which intends to reach such social groups and strata which appear to have been excluded, for one reason or another, from the means of institutional political activity. There are considerable number of these. I think that the greater the number of institutional means through which a citizen can express his own political views, ideas and experiences and can share these with others, the better the chances are for the evolution of a political culture in a pluralistic society. This pluralistic system of institutions will itself then become an increasingly stronger tool for maintaining and guarding pluralism at the same time. [end recording]

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference 5 Jun

AU0906120089 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jun 89 pp 1, 5

[Report by Correspondent Andras Banki: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Rehabilitation of Interned People To End by December—Legal Regulations on Antistate Crimes To Be Modified—Draft Bill on Freedom of Conscience and Religion—Full Census To Be Held Next Year—Government Spokesman To Leave Post—News Conference by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan"—in Budapest on 5 June]

[Excerpts] At its session on 5 June, the Council of Ministers approved the reports on Premier Miklos Nemeth's talks in Warsaw, Vienna, and Prague.

The government submitted a proposal to the National Assembly to modify the Penal Code and the law on criminal procedure. The Council of Ministers decided on settling the unfavorable consequences of police arrests and detention.

The government discussed the principles of a draft law on the freedom of conscience and religion.

The Council of Ministers heard a report on the preparations for a population census to be held in 1990.

Following the session, Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar and Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan briefed journalists and answered their questions. [passage omitted]

Television News: According to the news we saw and heard, the Chinese Army supporting the government carried out the massacre in Beijing. Has the Hungarian Government dealt with this issue?

Gyorgy Marosan: Today's government session did not discuss the events in China in a concrete form, therefore I can only give my own impression. If I had to characterize these events in a few words, I would probably use the following attributes: unfortunate, thought-provoking, and a warning. These events have shown how important mutual tolerance and responsibility for the nation are. These events have also shown how important it is for the government to establish a national consensus. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: In connection with freedom of conscience and religion, this issue has an extremely complex practical and technical aspect. If various churches are allowed to operate freely in schools, hospitals, prisons, and so on, then it means that they will have to find a place for this activity. How much time did you allocate for this, and how do you imagine all this?

Kalman Kulcsar: Obviously, the government is thinking about this, and it is not the task of the justice minister to deal with it. I think that there is goodwill on both sides to mutually solve the problems.

The problems are much more complex than you have mentioned. We are not talking only about schools and hospitals, but also about teachers, for example. Priest teachers were not trained in Hungary for a long time. Obviously this does not happen overnight. More time is needed for this new system to be established. I am convinced that the relevant government bodies are already dealing with these issues. [passage omitted]

NATIONAL BROADCASTING NETWORK [name published in English] (a U.S. radio and television channel): There are elections in Poland. In addition to Hungarian diplomats, are the Hungarian Government experts also observing the Polish elections? I do not mean the results but the technique from which you might draw some practical conclusions.

Gyorgy Marosan: In connection with the elections in Poland, I think that, although the political situation is very similar in the two countries, there are also many differences. Probably, our elections will be technically different from the ones in Poland. What we should learn is not so much the technical part, but rather how to deal with this political situation and how to run an election campaign.

Social Policy Committee Defines Party's Tasks

LD0706230389 Budapest MTI in English
1800 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 7 (MTI)—The Social Policy Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party [HSWP] Central Committee held a session on Wednesday in Budapest, under the chairmanship of Janos Berecz. The theme discussed was the development of the political feature of the HSWP. It was stressed in the debate that the creditworthiness of the HSWP in society and among its own members should be re-created. This is the most important task of the preparations for the forthcoming congress and the elections following it. Breaking with the earlier practice, the efforts of the party should be adjusted to the demands of society. It is essential for the HSWP to work out practical replies to the problems surfacing in society, which offer attainable and understandable solutions also for the individuals. It is important that the party clarify its own character, political tendency and renewing economic policy goals as early as possible. The HSWP should create its programme and character as a party oriented towards the future. This requires a programme that also takes into consideration the demands of the social strata, persons who understand politics, and suitable means.

Straub Tours Istanbul on Official Visit 7 Jun

LD0806075989 Budapest MTI in English
2022 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Istanbul, June 7 (MTI)—F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, currently on an official visit to Turkey, saw the sights of Istanbul on Wednesday. Mr Straub viewed the Kaariye Museum, also known as the Chora Monastery Church, the Islamic-Turkish Museum, the Blue Mosque, and the Topkapu Museum.

Cahit Bayar, provincial governor of Istanbul, hosted a lunch in honour of F. Bruno Straub. In the following, Mr Straub and his party viewed the Dolma Bagche Palace.

Visits City of Tekirdag

LD0806103189 Budapest MTI in English
1005 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Istanbul, June 8 (MTI)—F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, currently on an official visit to Turkey, visited the city of Tekirdag on Thursday.

The Hungarian head of state was met at 9, Hungary Street by Oghuz Kaghan Koeksal, governor of Tekirdag Province, and Camal Unlu Sarac, the city's mayor.

Tekirdag bears the memory of Prince Fernec Rakoczi I, renowned figure of the struggle against Habsburg rule in Hungary, who lived there for about 15 years.

Mr Straub also paid a visit to Prince Rakoczi's former house. The Hungarian visitors were shown around the building, now housing a museum. The maps of Hungary from the early 18th century on its walls include some of the sites of the Hungarian war of independence. The history of Turkish-Hungarian relations, which date back to ancient times, is shown in the documents, books and pictures displayed in the glass cases. The inscription on a marble tablet in the building reads: "The Rakoczi Museum, serving the deepening of Hungarian- Turkish relations, established by the Hungarian People's Republic."

The museum was inaugurated on July 27, 1968, by Janos Peter, former foreign minister, in the presence of the Turkish authorities. It was designed by the Hungarian National Museum.

Concludes Visit 8 Jun

LD0906094489 Budapest MTI in English
2023 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 8 (MTI)—F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, who paid a four-day official visit to the Republic of Turkey at the invitation of President Kenan Evren, returned to Budapest on Thursday.

Mr Straub was accompanied by Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, Imre Dunai, secretary of state at the Ministry of Trade, and Academician Gyorgy Hazai, chief director of the Akademia publishing house.

Mr Straub summarized the main experiences of his visit to Turkey during the return flight to Budapest. He said the sides agreed that cooperation can be intensified in all areas, from tourism to technical and scientific cooperation, and a five-year agreement in the latter theme was signed during the current visit. Trade turnover has doubled in the past three years, and the sides stated that progress is needed in economic relations, for instance, by setting up joint ventures, joint stands on third markets, and trade cooperation should be raised to a higher level.

Mr Straub briefed his negotiating partners on Hungarian foreign policy, including the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea, and the plan to come abreast of the vanguard of European development, to join into European integration.

In connection with the minorities issue, Mr Straub set forth the Hungarian position, according to which all people should have the possibility to live and prosper in their places of birth.

Answering the question of MTI's correspondent, Mr Straub said he had presented an invitation to the president of the Republic of Turkey. However, elections are scheduled to be held this autumn in Turkey and, according to the valid constitution, Mr Evran cannot be re-elected, the invitation is addressed to the next president of Turkey.

Ivanyi Meets Tanzanian Group; Work Plan Signed

LD0706225589 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT 7 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 7 (MTI)—The delegation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (CCM), which had spent some days in Hungary under the leadership of Salmin Amour, secretary in charge of economic and organizational affairs of the national executive committee, left Budapest on Wednesday.

The delegation met Pal Ivanyi, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee [CC]. Mr Amour and Geza Kotai, head of the CC's department of international party relations, signed a two-year work plan of cooperation between the HSWP and the CCM.

Jaruzelski Visits Belgium, Great Britain

PAP Reviews Belgium Visit

LD1006161489 Warsaw PAP in English 0005 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Brussels, June 9—President of the Council of State of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived for a short, working visit to Belgium this morning.

At the Zamantem Airport Jaruzelski was greeted by Belgium's Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans.

In the morning Jaruzelski was received at an audience in the royal castle by Belgium's King Baudouin. As a PAP correspondent has learned, this was a face-to-face meeting which lasted nearly half an hour longer than planned.

In the afternoon the president of the Council of State met with Belgium's Premier Wilfried Martens. Gen. Jaruzelski broadly presented the current economic and social situation in Poland. The two broadly discussed prospects of economic cooperation between Poland and Belgium. They touched upon current military-political issues in light of the recent debates of the NATO summit and the proposals forwarded there by President George Bush.

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Boleslaw Kulski at the same time held a meeting with general secretary at the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Frans Roelants to discuss current matters in the field of bilateral relations and selected problems of international cooperation.

Next Jaruzelski was treated to lunch by Premier Martens. In an extensive toast, Belgium's premier stated: "Among the events which draw the attention of the world public opinion there are few so worthy of attention as the democratic evolution which is taking place in Poland. On our part we will particularly follow your undertakings on all multilateral planes in which we have the opportunity to back you. We will continue looking into ways of introducing greater development of our industrial, economic and financial cooperation."

Thanking for the friendly words addressed to Poland and Poles and for the hospitality awarded him, Jaruzelski stated that his visit reaffirmed the mutual interest of both countries in developing comprehensive, constructive cooperation. He expressed satisfaction that he had the opportunity to learn that this view was shared by King Baudouin.

The president of the Council of State stressed that both nations had a firm will to contribute to the construction of peace and international security. Jaruzelski drew attention to the unquestionable achievements of both countries in this respect and recalled that political dialogue between European states of different socio-political systems was begun at the end of the fifties precisely by Belgium and Poland. This dialogue was and is fruitful, as it creates premises for societies to better get acquainted and serves the cause of peace in Europe. "The activity of Poland and Belgium, their cooperation for the cause of detente and security on our continent are at present more necessary than ever before. I wish my current visit to serve this matter," Jaruzelski said.

Afterwards the president of the Council of State granted interviews to two channels of Belgian TV and DIE STANDAARD daily at the Polish Embassy here.

Then, Jaruzelski met with head of the EC Commission Jacques Delors to discuss prospects for deepening the relations of Poland and EC and the issue of the general system of customs preferences. The talks were an essential step forward in Polish-EC cooperation.

In the evening, Jaruzelski delivered a lecture on "changing Poland in changing Europe" on the invitation of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

"The first round of parliamentary talks reflected a new political map in Poland. It does not matter whether the Polish United Workers Party and its coalitional partners envisaged the numerical result of these elections in this or that way," emphasized he.

"The important thing is that we decided to take the electoral risk, while maintaining the continuity of state structures, of our own will and being fully aware of the possible consequences.

"The historical situation has undergone far-reaching transformations. The image of the enemy is gradually fading away. Clearing the way for itself is the awareness that ideological and national controversies, group ambitions and even actual opposing interests must give way today to the values of higher rank—above all to becoming aware of the necessity to survive.

"We have paid too dearly for our independent statehood and inviolability of our borders, to intend today—independently from internal and external transformations that are under way—to exchange concrete guarantees of treaties for verbal assertions of friendly feelings towards our country. Even if one considers us at times to be incurable romantics—I must assure you that as far as this issue goes we are and will be tough realists," Jaruzelski stressed.

"If the atmosphere of the cold war had not recurred—we in Poland would probably be more advanced today in the process of reforms, as the cold war goes on not only on the military and propaganda but also on the economic platforms," concluded he.

Arrives in UK, Lays Wreath

LD1006105789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has been in the British Isles for several hours now. A report from Zbigniew Napierala.

[Napierala] Immediately on arrival in Great Britain, Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, went from Heathrow Airport to the military cemetery in Brookwood, which is one of the largest cemeteries in Great Britain. There is a Polish section here too, with the graves of Polish soldiers from land units, who were killed in World War II. Wojciech Jaruzelski, accompanied by General Sir Peter de la Billiere, commander of the southeast military district, and members of the Polish delegation, laid a wreath in homage to the soldiers whose ashes rest, not in the homeland, but on British soil.

As I report, Wojciech Jaruzelski is on his way to Chequers, the country residence of British prime ministers, 60 kilometers from London. In a moment, talks between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Margaret Thatcher will begin there. It was at her invitiation that the chairman of the Council of State arrived on a working visit to Great Britain today.

Discusses Relations With Howe

LD1006133289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has arrived in Great Britain on a 2-day visit. The chairman of the Council of State has already had talks with Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe on Polish affairs, bilateral cooperation, and East-West relations. According to a statement given to the press, the talks lasted 35 minutes. The foreign secretary declared that the elections held in Poland were very encouraging to us. He pointed out that the election run-off coincided with the elections to the European Parliament in the majority of EC countries. Geoffrey Howe encouraged the Polish authorities to take a further interest in the development of relations with the Council of Europe. In conclusion, he affirmed Great Britain's interest in playing its role in the process of economic reforms in Poland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then went to the largest Allied military cemetery in Great Britain, in Brookwood, where he laid a wreath in the Polish soldiers' section.

Meets With Thatcher

LD1006202889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Excerpts] [Napierala] Zbigniew Napierala reporting from London for the "Home and Abroad" magazine.

Today Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, arrived on an official visit to Great Britain at the invitation of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. [passage omitted]

At 1130 Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived at the British prime minister's countryside residence at Chequers. Prior to over 3 hours of talks, both leaders came out to meet photographers. Breaking the adopted protocol, Margaret Thatcher gave a quick interview to Editor Zakrzewski from Television News. Replying to a question on how she appraised the latest changes in Poland, Margaret Thatcher responded: We are fascinated by this. Everything is being implemented very well. The chairman accepts and should accept these events as the development of a new democracy. To a question about how she appraised General Jaruzelski's policies, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher replied: He is steering and controlling everything very well and we are pleased to see that. I was very pleased with the talks I held with Wojciech Jaruzelski in Poland.

Interviewed on Election

LD1106091189 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by diplomatic correspondent Nik Gowing in London on 10 June, monitored in progress during the Channel 4 program, "The World This Week," presented by Sheena McDonald; Jaruzelski speaks in Polish with superimposed English translation—recorded]

[Text] [McDonald] General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who 8 years ago banned Solidarity and imposed martial law, is, as we've heard, in Britain for talks with Mrs Thatcher. Before raising the subject of this week's election results, Nik Gowing asked the general what hope Thatcher's new offer gave to Poland:

[Jaruzelski] I am very pleased over the opinions that your prime minister has expressed and the intentions she declared, and especially the promises I've heard and which allow me to believe that Britain not only in itself...[Jaruzelski changes thought] or alone will actively join the resolution of Poland's economic problems but that it will work to encourage other Western European Community countries to follow suit.

[Gowing] Could I turn now to the election last Sunday. Do you, General, have any regrets now about the breathtaking speed of the election process, which gave the Communist Party such a rejection?

[Jaruzelski] I wouldn't call that a breathtaking pace: It is a planned pace that is in keeping with electoral law and as the whole procedure was planned before. If what you have in mind is the pace or the dangers involved, well, it is a turn of a kind, and I believe that we will cover successfully that turn.

[Gowing] But are you at all concerned about the level of resistance inside the party from the hardliners and those who are not happy with the speed of the reforms taking place now?

[Jaruzelski] The level of resistance can be proportionate to adverse developments or phenomena that might occur in Poland upsetting the law and order—the legal order and the constitutional order—which might be in conflict

with the arrangements agreed at the roundtable. If such phenomena were to occur, then of course they would give rise naturally to concern and resistance among the people you are mentioning.

[Gowing] Do you expect any attempts inside the party to pull in—to rein back—the reform process which has now been set in motion by the roundtable, which was agreed with Solidarity?

[Jaruzelski] I think it is a process which has the logic in it and has developed its own course: We have repeatedly stressed that their reforms are irreversible and that we're going to carry on them.

[Gowing] But what would you say to those in the West who are looking at the results and saying: Surely, this was a grave miscalculation by the Communist Party?

[Jaruzelski] I would rather say that the Party and the power coalition went to the election without enough momentum: Perhaps, first, because we didn't have enough experience in this kind of political struggle and in this formula of this struggle; and secondly, because, perhaps, we are burdened by a kind of complex of guilt, that I would say, for so far not having sufficiently applied all sorts of democratic procedures, and we wanted to be superdemocratic, superpluralistic. We went to the elections as a very fragmented front in contrast to the Solidarity or the opposition that made up a very coherent front.

[Gowing] If there are new elections 4 years from now, and if there are free elections, are you now actively considering the possibility that the Communist Party could be defeated outright?

[Jaruzelski] I'm not a futurologist, and first of all, my assumption is that my party will be acting in such a way and fighting in such a way so as to win a due place in Poland's political system.

[Gowing] There has been speculation recently that because of the election results, the reformist wings of the party might break away from the Communist Party. Do you forsee that possibility of a split in the Communist Party?

[Jaruzelski] At any rate, I'll do my bes...[incomplete word as heard] I'll fight to prevent that.

[Gowing] Is there pressure for it at the moment?

[Jaruzelski] I do not see any ranking pressures.

[McDonald] General Jaruzelski speaking this afternoon in London.

Speaks at UK Polonia Meeting

LD1106163489 Warsaw PAP in English
1413 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] London, June 11—During his meeting with representatives of British Polonia here on Saturday, as already reported, Wojciech Jaruzelski said i.a.:

"As you know I returned to Poland going from the East, I could have equally well returned, or not returned, from the West. It was actually a coincidence that I found myself in Berling's and not in Ander's army and such were our fates. This should unite us because the idea, the intention and desire were identical: To go and fight for the freedom of homeland. But the most important thing is what our future generations will be like, the generations which will inherit all that was the best in our history and reject things that did not prove out.

"Poland has found herself at a very important, critical turn of history. It must be negotiated and one must not lose his balance. The support which we feel from fellow Poles is particularly valuable for us. In difficult moments, one needs to feel that there are millions of people, who although far away in the geographical sense, are very close. Excuse me please my partly-facetious digression, a moment ago I heard some signing here. I am not offended by it, this is the right of youth, the right to see the world and the ways of our country in a different way and the point is that we should be united by certain supreme values," Jaruzelski said.

"Even in the family there is not always an ideal harmony. But does that mean that every family, when these or other discords appear, is to disintegrate? No. Neither can the great family of Poles fall apart. Particularly at the time when we are facing historic challanges, when there appears an enormous chance for this nearly 40-million-strong, and if to add to this the emigration, 50-million or 55-million-strong, nation placed in the heart of Europe, marked by excellent tradition and history and with, already now, big potential including, which is the most precious thing, many millions of educated and well-qualified people.

"One can have various reservations and critical remarks as to the road which we passed over 45 years. We admit, many a time with betterness, that many problems could have been solved better, faster and in a wiser way. This is true. But People's Poland cannot be deprived of one credit, the fact that she has already produced several generations of well prepared, educated and wise people. This is our enormous capital which will make it possible, when we join our forces, when we realize the great idea of national agreement—to perform the tasks which we are currently facing.

"We are full of good will and hopes that these processes will develop favourably. We wish to have cordial support of our compatriots abroad, particularly those who can see further, broader, and who know that there is one

homeland and one must not turn his back on it, that even if not always things are as we would wish them to be, then one must not turn back but, keeping with one's own abilities—to work for improvement," said Jaruzelski during the meeting.

Concludes UK Visit, Departs

LD1106224789 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski returned home this evening after having official visits to Belgium and Great Britain.

Jaruzelski was welcomed at the Okecie Airport by Polish supreme political and state officials with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Jozwiak.

Present were Belgium's Ambassador to Poland Thierry de Gruben and Great Britain's Charge D'Affaires A.I. Gordon Weatherell.

"I consider both visits to be extremely significant and the talks—fruitful in all the thematic areas, both concerning bilateral relations and in the European dimension, even in a broader scope to a certain extent. The most important thing for us are the economic issues—in which we made a significant step forward. There appear chances for accelerating various forms of meeting our problems halfway, both in Great Britain and Belgium as well as in the EC. I think that the visits, very busy indeed, will be profitable for Poland," Jaruzelski told PAP at the airport.

"Apart from this, remembering about the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, I used this opportunity to pay tribute to the fallen Polish soldiers and airmen and to the ashes of General Wladyslaw Sikorski," added he.

Krakow Solidarity Demonstrations for PRC Students

AU1206131789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jun 89 p 2

["ges"-signed report: "Demonstrations in Krakow"]

[Text] There were more demonstrations in Krakow on 7 June. On this occasion, the aim of the demonstrations was to express solidarity with student protests in China. A group of about 400 young people representing the "Freedom and Peace" Movement, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Independent Association of University Students, and the Militant Youth Association held a rally outside the university's "Collegium Novum" and then marched to Krakow's main square.

Next, shouting, "Freedom for China," "Jaruzelski Out," and "Down with the Commies," they proceeded to the GDR Cultural and Information Center, where they protested against the GDR Government statement expressing support for the Chinese authorities.

Then the demonstrators marched to the USSR Consulate General on Westerplatte Street, where they were stopped by uniformed law and order enforcement forces. They exchanged views for about 2 hours, and during this time traffic in central Krakow was paralyzed. Finally, without using coercion, the law enforcement forces believed the demonstrators' assurances that they would not disrupt public order as long as they could pass through Westerplatte Street. The demonstrators did indeed leave the roadway and marched through Planty Park.

Walesa Calls for Responsibility After Elections

LD0906173189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Excerpts] I do not rule out the possibility that a representative of the opposition will enter the new government, said Lech Walesa at a news conference in Gdansk today, because everyone has free will, and we are not a party where discipline is binding. [passage omitted]

In answer to questions on the specific constitutional crisis caused by the fact that 33 seats in the Sejm from the National List were not filled, Lech Walesa stated: We will keep our word, given at the roundtable. The public does not fully understand what happened. We must be responsible, since reforms demand responsibility, understanding, and respect for the partner. The evolutionary process requires the restraining of appetites on (?both sides). Those who were not elected are people who staked on the reforms. Who will I talk to now, since it was with them that we reached an understanding at the roundtable?

Solidarity Remains 'Opposition'

LD0906194389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Report from Gdansk by Antoni Popov; Walesa remarks recorded]

[Text] A news conference by Lech Walesa for Polish and foreign journalists was held today at Solidarity's Gdansk headquarters. First of all, Lech Walesa's press spokesman Piotr Nowina-Konopka read the communique issue after the meeting of the Roundtable Coordinating Commission. Then there were questions to Lech Walesa. Commenting on the elections, Lech Walesa said:

[Walesa] To begin I would like through you to thank the people for the elections, for the hard work, and for the attitude toward Solidarity and the Citizens' Committee. However, as regards yesterday's meeting specifically, we only have what we have in the communique. We uphold the roundtable decisions. There is a misunderstanding among the public. The public thinks that it has had a lovely election win and we are cooking up something, selling out, and so on. I would like you to clear up this

matter; I want you to say that the idea of a pool of seats did not come from our side; that the coalition invented this pool by itself for itself and now it is in trouble.

So, we are still the opposition. We have not gone there for ministerial desks; we have not gone there to govern, just to keep an eye on and to widen democracy and freedom. For today, we cannot quarrel over economic matters; we have to see a picture of society, for the struggle for a political solution; that is one problem and economic issues are another problem. We know the state of the country: in building construction, the socioeconomic conditions generally. And regardless of our differences, we have to help to the maximum because that is why people voted for us in the first place.

So, on economic subjects we will be very close, but close with the aim of changing the economic system to an economically (?tried and tested one). On other subjects, we will be fighting very strongly, as an opposition, for broadening freedom and democracy [word indistinct]. I will be pressing the concept that we should be the opposition; that we should not enter the government, because that is not what we went there for. The workers will say that we were fighting for jobs in the government, that all we were concerned about was our careers and not the interests of the workers, not democracy, and not a change of system.

[Popov] One question to Lech Walesa was: Can you imagine a new political party based on Solidarity?

[Walesa] We want to be a very strong trade union; and we should strive to be a trade union. The only thing is, you cannot be a good trade union—and we want to be a good one—when there is no economy, when there is no law, when [words indistinct], you cannot be a good trade union. We, wanting to be a good trade union, must help to build up the economy, political and other (?matters), to become a trade union. But at the same time we have to watch out that we do not go into the administration and exchange again one totalitarianism or one monopoly, maybe yes, for another. We continue to be threatened by an exchange of monopolies, and it is not at all the case that this monopoly will be a better one. I warned in 1980, in 1981 at the congress, you may remember, that we would all in all be a worse monopoly than the previous one, (?and we) would want to do it quicker. That is why I am doing everything for Solidarity not to become a monopoly, so that Solidarity should, essentially, remain a trade union, except that this union cannot be good but wants to be the best—so many distinctions, so many doctorates—so it must be the best union. But it cannot be the best, because it does not have the economic conditions for it. Well, one cannot demand (?it). (?we) only want order. Well, one cannot make demands because the shops do not exist. Economic and political subjects must stand out from our genealogy. They should allow us to be a good trade union. Quite a few groups (?exist which) would still like to [words indistinct] to create some sort of party monopoly on this base, and (?get on the bandwagon). As long as Walesa is around, he will not allow this to happen.

More on Walesa's Gdansk Remarks

LD0906214189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] Lech Walesa in Gdansk and Alfred Miodowicz in Warsaw have had meetings with domestic and foreign journalists.

[Begin Walesa recording] We are not going to hamper the authorities if they go—irrespective of who they are—if they implement democratization programs, a departure from the Stalinist system, changes in the views of government and changes in economic and political concepts. In these conditions and in these [word indistinct] we shall be very much their allies. But we are not going to allow a departure from the road of reforms. In this connection it is more convenient for us to be in opposition—but not the kind of opposition that picks holes all the time, hinders the government, makes strikes, or things like that. No, this is not the point. What matters are true reforms. And in this connection we have no mandate to govern. That would be badly received by the public and that would be leaping too quickly over another stage. There are really good people in administration—really—but under different institutional conditions. We want to improve these institutional conditions and good specialists for government will be found, because they are within our range of vision.

There is no question of retreat. It is just that an evolutionary process requires that our appetite should also be restrained. We have to restrain it because we need to win, but we need to win while adhering to all agreements, showing respect for our partner, above all showing respect for the public, not leading it into a risky game, into irresponsible moves. We, as leaders, currently have to apply all this because we want to win. I always want to win and I do win. And in this connection I would ask that we, or I, are not suspected of surrendering, that we have already had a taste of some easy positions, that something has already been arranged. There are no arrangements except for the public. [end recording]

Jerzy Urban Comments on Election Results

LD1106225389 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 11 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—Today's main TV news bulletin aired a statement by Minister Jerzy Urban. Excerpts:

"The elections proved to be unfavourable for the coalition side as far as their result is concerned, but they are based on the round table political agreement respected by both sides. The agreement envisages that the post of the president having considerable prerogatives shall be filled by the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party]. The name of Wojciech Jaruzelski has been mentioned. This

is a feasible candidate. The president will appoint the government. At present, talks are under way on what kind of government it may be. It seems that it would be the best for the country if it were a government with participation of the opposition, and therefore a broadly coalitional government that would implement round table agreements.

"As the opposition opines at present that it does not want co-responsibility on the government level and it only wants parliamentary co-responsibility, this will probably mean that the government will be appointed basing on the 65 percent majority in the Sejm to be obtained by the currently ruling coalition in the elections.

"However, the change will not only consist in the oppositions working after the oppositional fashion, that is it will not only criticize or give counter-proposals in the parliament. The result of the elections settled the question that it will not be possible to pass laws without agreement with the opposition and that this will be the essence of the practical modification of wielding the power.

"We are now at the stage when one begins to discuss the matters of the future government, but everything proceeds normally. Everything proceeds in tune with what was imagined by our side called at the round table the government-coalition side. We did not imagine that the result of the elections would be so poor for us, but this result does not change anything in the basic plan of the game.

"Both sides emphasize that the round table agreements are valid including also the agreement on exercising the power. There remain only the problems of the way in which we will implement these agreements and how the relations in the parliament will develop in practice, of whether there will occur some blockade, reciprocal blocking or something different, something for which one may hope after the round table—namely that the process of reaching agreement as to various reformatory proceedings will continue.

"So, we find ourselves at the moment of just a silence before the second round of the elections. We are at the point when forming the executive authority of the state and developing the relations based on new democratic principles is ahead of us.

"One should be an optimist, and the coalition-government side is analyzing the thrashing it got in the first round of the elections, this is an extremely important matter. I would add such a comment to all the comments that have been already said: The first round was won by no mean opposition, but by the moderate opposition, by the opposition that subscribed to the philosophy of gradual changes and it was so highly approved for this very reason. However, there are many reasons for which the outcome was unfavourable for us," Urban stated.

Party Spokesman Discusses Election Results

LD1106042489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] We have kept you briefed during the week on the results of the elections in Poland and about the ramifications of the results. Today our correspondent asked the Polish United Workers Party Spokesman Jan Bisztyga for his analysis:

[Correspondent] Comrade Bisztyga, the official results of the first round of the elections were announced on Thursday. What is your assessment of them?

[Bisztyga in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] The election results are not favorable for the coalition, but today, of course, is not a time for us to be at the mercy of the fact that we have not been successful. What we face now is the main problem of getting down to some serious thought about what the direct cause of this state of affairs is. The second problem is the issue of how to assert party policy in this situation. Looking for the reasons for the lack of success, I think they are to be sought simply in the distribution of forces in society, which is under a cloud of bad economic conditions, a negative attitude to the past and to everything associated with the earlier bureaucratic socialism. As a result, the voters gave an emotional reaction to the past and supported Solidarity as a symbol, and expressed their confidence in it in their own particular way. At the moment of voting, however, no one was looking ahead, to the future, and no one asked Solidarity what kind of future they envision for the Polish people either.

What we are faced with now is the important task of ensuring that the party, not only in the next round of elections but primarily in its further work, offers the Poles real prospects. We are now at an important stage; June has transformed Poland. We can no longer think in categories of any kind of return to the past, and this applies to the party's work too. We have to ponder important changes in the party and reform measures to restructure it that will match the demands and needs of the working class. I would like to stress that Polish society's reaction in the elections was not directed against socialism; it was directed against the ineffective face of socialism and the ineffective politicians whose vision of socialism and the whole state this was. That is why we must think hard about the party's further policy, and we have to do this very quickly to respond to the hopes of the working class in particular, but also the other groups in society who reacted in a way unfavorable to the party.

As far as the second round of the elections is concerned, I don't think there will be any more surprises. The necessary remaining votes will be won by the coalition and it will thus have a majority in the Sejm. This will make it possible to elect the country's president safely, constructively, and in a political way. Then it will be necessary to formulate concepts for the formation of a

broad coalition capable of tackling, step by step, all the problems existing in Poland. First and foremost these will be economic issues. That is an important task facing the Poles. We must tackle all the problems together and here I see a definite positive shift because Solidarity, which won such great public support, now also bears responsibility, responsibility for two important fields. The first is the security of the state. Solidarity must bear joint responsibility for ensuring that there will be no strikes, demonstrations, and protests in Poland, so that it thus contributes to the stability society. On the other hand, Solidarity ought to be jointly responsibility for tackling the serious economic problems.

Reykowski, Geremek on Runoff Elections

LD0906174789 Warsaw PAP in English 1612 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—Answering questions asked by journalists after yesterday's meeting of the Round Table Arbitration Commission, Janusz Reykowski said:

"The Solidarity-opposition side agreed during the meeting not to object against the coalition's request to the Council of State concerning the runoffs for the vacant Sejm seats. This means that it will not be the national list any more but the voting procedure will be the same. The thing is to keep political accords and to have 460 members of parliament."

Asked whether the runoffs will be held on June 18 Reykowski said: "We plan so and this is in our motion but the Council of State will decide."

Answering a question about who would nominate candidates for these seats, Reykowski said: "As these are mandates belonging to the coalition-government side, candidates will be named by the coalition's authorities."

Asked whether the persons from the national list will run again, Reykowski answered that some of them may.

PAP reporters posed several questions to Bronislaw Geremek who said that at the moment the whole affair is in the hands of their partners from the government and "we understand the decision belongs to the Council of State which, before the new Sejm starts work, that is after the runoffs, has the power to take such decisions."

"We hope," Geremek added, "that during that time the Council of State will also take decisions on other important matters for the country which await urgent solutions, among them, the economic situation, material protection, and indexation of wages."

Malinowski Not To Run

LD1006144189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] The press spokesman for the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee [NK] has made a statement that the chairman of the ZSL NK, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, out of respect for the will of the electorate expressed in the first round of the elections regarding the national list candidates for Sejm deputies, does not intend to run again in the second round of the elections for the post of deputy.

A similar, sovereign stance has been taken by the ZSL members standing for parliament in the national list who did not achieve the support required by law.

As soon as legal conditions are created for the vacant seats allocated to ZSL representatives, the party's authorities will put forward different activists of our Peasant Party as candidates, the spokesman stated.

ZSL, SD Chiefs Discuss Post-Election Scene

LD1006100489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] During a meeting between Roman Malinowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee, and Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee, they appraised the sociopolitical situation after the first round of the elections. The directions of closer partnerlike cooperation between the ZSL and the SD for the purpose of strengthening the qualitative changes in Poland were discussed. It was decided that the Presidia of the ZSL Supreme Committee and the SD Central Committee would hold a joint meeting.

Commentator Says Voters Judged 'Errors of Past'

AU1006175989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 June 89 p 1

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "Without Concealment or Complaint"]

[Text] I am convinced that if instead of the elections in Poland we had had a referendum 'for' or 'against' the principles of the "roundtable", for or against preserving the continuity of the timeless values of the system and the political-economic reforms, the result would have been completely different.

Instead of a referendum, however, we have had elections to the National Assembly, which turned into a plebiscite against the errors of the past, the traditionalist view of the party's role, the shortcomings of our economic development, and the economic crisis which makes everyday life so difficult. This plebiscite was not fought out against the backdrop of arguments over superior values, in its arguments the opposition did not even attempt to put forward any bogus alternatives, but it was fought in

order to present the opportunity for new methods of governing, anticipated as being more democratic, and the opportunity of having new people in the organs of the legislature.

The loser in these elections, as they were understood by the majority of society, is the bad legacy of the past with which the coalition and the party is tarred. The ideas of democratic reform, the support for widespread changes in political and social life and for the overhaul of the whole economic system, did not lose however. In this historic process, neither the party nor the coalition, which under the influence of this process initiated these reforms, secured the success of the "roundtable," guaranteed the far-reaching accords, and remains committed to their realization, can be called a loser. A party which does not seek to repudiate its responsibility for the past, which seeks to draw conclusions from its own errors, however painful these conclusions may be, cannot consider itself as having been defeated. The political coalition which has built lasting constitutional foundations of peoples' rule, society's self-government, equality for all citizens, national pride, guarantees of state sovereignty, and its proper place in the community of nations, cannot be deemed to have lost.

The elections coincided with a time when the party itself, with its coalition, drew conclusions from the past and decided to submit itself to judgement. The elections arrived too early, and before the party could reap the fruits of this self-assessment and transformation. The psychic burden of a painful past triumphed momentarily over the rationalism presented and implemented by the party and its coalition.

It is difficult to otherwise interpret the results of the first round. One is filled with optimism that "Solidarity" has desisted from sounding triumphant fanfares, and that during the campaign the regrettably numerous points of confrontation were toned down. It is not in Poland's interest today to have a roll-call of successes or setbacks, or of the better or worse saviors of the fatherland. What is needed is a broad coalition formed from all the participants of the "roundtable," for only they best know the value of the principles and intentions which were expressed around this table.

Additionally, "Solidarity" has no cause for celebrations, bearing in mind the low turnout of voters. Those candidates who secured even the highest numbers of votes polled only a majority of votes from those voting, and not a majority from all those who were entitled to vote. The absence of almost 40 percent of the electorate, that is over 9 million people entitled to vote, is a cause for regret and concern to all. Let us leave it to social scientists to research the motives of these people, and who these people were. Politicians are however entitled to ponder over this absent electorate in relation to the wasted opportunity.

We, the members of the coalition, have a pressing responsibility to convince these silent millions of our commitment to the reforms, progress, and the strengthening of democracy. These non-voters are after all Poles, similar to those who chose to treat these elections as a plebiscite. We must not forget about these people, for the future of our country also depends on their social and productive involvement.

Only one act of our parliamentary elections was planed out on 4 June. Act two takes place on 18 June. We anticipate seeing on that date a wide sweep of collective action on behalf of the whole broad coalition which emerged at the "roundtable." Last night, "Solidarity" spokesmen confirmed that "Solidarity" will not cease campaigning in the second round of the elections, and will not object to the best candidates of the government-coalition from being put forward in the second round. Thus, it is good that there will be no passivity where the election of the best candidates offered by our party is an expression of democratic openness. We do not need verbal assurances of support for the principles of the "roundtable." We require a broad, social action for its support, and we expect to see this in the next round of the elections.

The greatest responsibility for manifesting support for party and coalition reformist forces rests on all those people, including those who did not vote in the first round, for whom the future of Poland is linked to the transformations which are based on circumstances related to a democratic and political system, and who are imbued with a responsibility free from all egoism. Such an electorate, free from plebiscite-like divisions, must now reveal itself for the sake of forming a fully representative parliament.

Kiszczak, Archbishop Discuss Roundtable

LD1006222589 Warsaw PAP in English
1724 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 10—Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the co-chairman of the "round table" today met with General Secretary of the Conference of the Episcopate of Poland Archbishop Dabrowski.

During the talks the sides held a broad exchange of views on the situation in the country [words indistinct].

Archbishop Dabrowski expressed a conviction that the arrangements of the "round table" would be fully implemented by all its participants and that mainly its [words indistinct]. The discussion was held at the initiative of Archbishop Dabrowski.

Government Adopts Decree on Pay Raises

LD1006135889 Warsaw PAP in English
1936 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—The Council of Ministers met here today under the chairmanship of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the government press office has reported.

The government assessed the socio-political and economic situation. Ministers presented their ministries' plans and settled a timetable of their implementation.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft decree on 1989 pay rises related to higher retail prices for consumer goods and services. The draft implements round table settlements on indexation and has been consulted with Solidarity and the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) [sentence as received].

To meet the deadline for introduction of indexation, the draft was sent to the Council of State.

Bulgaria's Atanasov Conducts Official Visit

Rakowski Speaks at Dinner

AU1206134389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jun 89 p 2

["Summary" of speech by Polish Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at a dinner given in honor of Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov in Warsaw on 7 June]

[Text] Addressing the Bulgarian visitors, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that the visit was taking place at a particularly important time for Poland, a time that sees profound, historic changes taking place in the life of the country, its economy, and its political institutions. We have embarked on a new road that is full of uncertainties. We are building accord among all patriotic and constructive political and social forces around the irreversible process of reform and socialist renewal that was inspired by our party. The Sejm and Senate elections took place a few days ago. The elections realized the accord attained at the "roundtable." They represent an exceptionally important step on the road toward creating a new social order and a parliamentary democracy in our country. We are aware of the importance of the challenges that we face and the complexity of the problems that we will have to overcome. However, we firmly believe that Polish society, which has displayed its wisdom, political maturity, and responsibility on more than one occasion, will commit all of its creative potential to the realization of the reforms that we have initiated and that it will unite around those matters that are of supreme importance to Poland, matters that determine its prosperity and its place among the nations of Europe and the world.

We view, said the premier, the processes of socioeconomic change that are taking place in the People's Republic of Bulgaria under the leadership of the Bulgarian Party and Government with interest and acceptance. They constitute an important element in the broad current of restructuring that has encompassed the Soviet Union and the remaining states that belong to our community. We sincerely wish you success and the best possible results in realizing these processes. The achievements of every state are successes for our entire community and serve to create a new image of our system in the international community.

Talking about Polish-Bulgarian relations, M.F. Rakowski stressed that we all, and our governments in particular, have the task of fully and creatively exploiting existing opportunities for accelerating and enriching our cooperation in all areas.

In line with the provisions of the program of cooperation between the Polish United Workers Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party concerning politics, ideology, science, and culture, which was signed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Todor Zhivkov last year, we attach great significance to close cooperation, cooperation that is free from unnecessary formalities, between political and social organizations, creative associations, and extensive direct contacts between people. We are grateful and express recognition for your decision to rescind the invitation requirement for Poles travelling to Bulgaria. This decision facilitates the realization of the idea of bringing our two peoples closer together.

We attach particular importance to the successful development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation and its constant modernization and enrichment. Over the last 2 years we have jointly formulated principles for direct production cooperation between enterprises and the creation of joint economic units and organizations. In "A Concept for the Development of Economic Cooperation Until the Year 2005" we also defined basic directions and areas for the expansion of this type of cooperation. However, we think that realization and the implementation process is proceeding too slowly. The process has to be accelerated in a determined fashion so that the results produced in this area are commensurate with those that we are obtaining in political and cultural cooperation.

Referring to international issues, the premier said that profound changes and reassessments are taking place in the international arena. We are actively involved in them on account of our desire to enhance and consolidate trends toward detente and to reduce the level of military confrontation in favor of peaceful cooperation between all states.

We fully support the peace initiatives of the USSR and the remaining socialist states that have been engendered by the spirit of "new thinking." We highly appraise Bulgaria's role in developing comprehensive cooperation among the socialist countries and its activity in the Balkan region. We firmly support your efforts aimed at creating a Balkan zone that is free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

Concluding his speech, Rakowski said that the anniversary of the outbreak of World War II that falls this year inclines one to think about the past and the present,

about how the future should be shaped so that the peoples of Europe should never again be tragically involved in the specter of the madness of war. We must exploit every possible opportunity to build a common European home, one that is free from barriers and divisions, prejudices and animosities, and is based on the permanent foundations of the postwar order and of the political and territorial realities on our continent.

Atanasov Addresses Dinner

AU1206123689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jun 89 p 2

["Summary" of speech by Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov at a dinner in his honor given by Polish Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski in Warsaw on 7 June]

[Text] Our meetings, Georgi Atanasov said, are primarily an expression of the constant concern by the leaderships of our two fraternal parties and countries to enhance Bulgarian-Polish relations. This concern was also clearly demonstrated during the talks between Todor Zhivkov and Wojciech Jaruzelski last year.

The present reforms in the socialist countries, the chairman of the Council of Ministers continued, are an alternative to stagnation and dogmatism, and an expression of our own development and of the self-improvement of our social system. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is at a stage of profound social transformations and restructuring in all spheres of life. We are seeking new forms, resources, and mechanisms of the kind of improvement to production resources and relations that will reflect our aim to build a new model of socialism and develop socialist democracy permanently and irreversibly.

Bulgarian society welcomes with interest the profound processes of renewal initiated by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The Bulgarian people are carefully monitoring the construction of socialist parliamentary democracy in Poland, in which partnership and constructive competition between various political forces for the sake of national goals in the basic principle.

It is the business of every party to seek its own paths and methods leading to a new quality of socialism. However, the Bulgarian Communist Party and PZPR are jointly aware of the need to renew socialism. They both wish to fill Bulgarian-Polish relations with a substance that corresponds to the processes occurring in both countries, and constantly develop and improve bilateral and multilateral mutually advantageous cooperation.

Our relations, based on the principles of equality, mutual advantage, independence, and joint responsibility for the fortunes of peace and socialism, are developing dynamically in all spheres. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and Polish People's Republic are placing before each other similar objectives in implementing the reforms, and they connect the prospects of their comprehensive development with a maximum joint use of socialism's potential in each country.

In future, the success of our mutual relations will depend to a major extent on a restructuring of the mechanisms and forms of Bulgarian-Polish economic cooperation, which is the key to a higher efficiency of this cooperation in all spheres.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, G. Atanasov said, attaches particular importance to improving comprehensive cooperation within the CEMA framework and to establishing a united socialist market. The stances of Bulgaria and Poland in these important issues for the future of the socialist community are identical.

Having analyzed the present reality of the world—the cardinal change in the role of the military factor, the increasing interdependence between the north and south and between east and west, the ecological threats, and the significance of human values—the socialist countries have formulated what everyone today calls a new political thinking. Thanks to this, for the first time since World War II, major progress in resolving the most urgent problems of mankind has been achieved in a short period of time.

Bulgaria and Poland have always shared a common approach toward key problems of international life. Today too, when Europe has been entrusted with the historic task of breaking the chain of mutual fear and mistrust between east and west and establishing a model of a new kind of cooperation and relations, our countries are displaying a constructive approach. That is why the comprehensive program to reduce armed forces and consolidate confidence in central Europe, known as the "Jaruzelski Plan," has achieved broad recognition beyond Poland's borders. Bulgaria's open and consistent Balkan policy has led to the establishment of relationships with some neighbors that may serve as an example. It is our people's sincere wish to live in mutual trust and mutual respect with all the peoples of our region.

Received by Jaruzelski, Departs

AU0906084589 Sofia BTA in English 0710 GMT 9 Jun 89

["Georgi Atanasov Ends Visit to Poland"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 9 (BTA correspondent)—On the second day of his friendly working visit to Poland yesterday, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, was received by Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and president of the Council of State of Poland.

The Polish leader briefed Mr Georgi Atanasov on the progress of reforms in Poland and on the results of the first round of elections to a Sejm and a Senate, as well as with the prospects for Poland's further development.

Mr Georgi Atanasov told his host about the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria, about the economic reforms, about the introduction of self-management and the changes in the sociopolitical area. An emphasis was laid on the interrelation between the reforms in the two countries and the Soviet perestroyka and their importance for giving the socialist community a new face.

The sides exchanged views on the state of Bulgaro-Polish relations and of inter-party cooperation. It was pointed out that the prospects of bilateral relations are determined by major documents: the concept on the promotion of economic and techno-scientific cooperation up to the year 2005 and the program for cooperation in ideology, politics, science and culture between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] to the year 2000. It was emphasized that the consistent implementation of these documents should result in an enhancement, expansion and strengthening of Bulgaro-Polish cooperation in all fields.

Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski also considered the impact of the restructuring in the socialist countries on the creation of a favorable climate in East-West relations, the assertion of the detente processes and of the progress in disarmament. The need was noted for the west to match its declarations with efficient and equal economic, scientific, technological and ecological cooperation.

Also yesterday, Mr Georgi Atanasov conferred with Mr Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Executive of the United Peasants Party. Their agenda included questions concerning the cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland, especially in the economic and the techno-scientific fields. An emphasis was laid on the availability of favorable conditions to speed up this interaction, especially in agriculture, the food industry and the trade in farm products.

Later in the day, the two delegations, headed by Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, held a session of plenary talks at which they considered various aspects of bilateral business contacts. The sides indicated that there are worthwhile opportunities for an efficient promotion of economic cooperation. It was recommended that special attention should be paid to the new forms of interaction and above all to direct cooperation between production units.

The signing of a protocol yesterday brought to a close the friendly working visit which Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, paid to the Polish People's Republic.

A press release on the visit says that the sides have found with satisfaction that Bulgaria and Poland promote their relations in a spirit of complete mutual understanding and cooperation.

The two heads of government exchanged views on the topical aspects of the improvement of multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration. They stressed the importance they attach to the forthcoming 45th session of the C.M.E.A. for speeding up the progress of reforming the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and of socialist economic integration and of the C.M.E.A operation.

Discussing the international situation, the sides found that their assessments and views on the key problems of the world development are identical. The sides will keep cooperating closely for the sake of setting up an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

Supporting Mr Todor Zhivkov's recent statement, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland declared himself against the practice of speculation with new political thinking whereby the principles of state sovereignty laid down in the rules and standards of international conduct are infringed.

The talks between the two delegations were held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

After the completion of the talks, Mr Georgi Atanasov made a statement for the press. He commended highly his talks with the Polish leaders and emphasized that they had considered both the traditional areas of cooperation and the new fields such as joint ventures, joint investment etc. Mr Georgi Atanasov made a special point of the assessments of the international situation and of the shared conclusion that new political thinking, an example of which is set by the Soviet Union, opens up wide-ranging prospects in the promotion of Europewide cooperation.

Mr Georgi Atanasov left Warsaw last night. At the Okecie Airport he was seen off by Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, prime minister of Poland, and by other officials.

Rakowski Receives SFRY Trade Minister

LD1006215689 Warsaw PAP in English 1422 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 10—The 25th session of the Polish-Yugoslav committee of economic and scientific-technical cooperation ended today.

The committee broadly analyzed and assessed the current state of bilateral trade relations and determinants of increasing commodity trade and economic cooperation on a level corresponding to the expectations and capacities of both sides. The achieved level of trade of 800 million dollars annually does not exhaust the capabilities

of the Polish and Yugoslav economies. The committee adopted arrangements which will be conducive to a development of Polish-Yugoslav economic relations and growth of trade.

Both sides expressed readiness to set up joint enterprises and scientific-research branches. Production specialization and co-production will be expanded. The sides are looking into possibilities of signing co-prodcution agreements in the automobile, machine tools, medical equipment, road construction machine industry and equipment for the food processing, pharmaceutical, plant protection, paint and lacquer and telecommunication industries and others.

Both sides confirmed interest in joining investment projects to a greater extent.

At the end of the debates, Minister of Trade of Yugoslavia Nazmi Mustafa was received by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Transcript of Rykowski 6 Jun News Conference

AU0906170989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Jun 89 pp 1, 6

[Transcript of news conference by Deputy Government Spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 6 June]

[Text] Zbyslaw Rykowski: A week ago I said that the elections were not the be-all and end-all. I said: We agreed on coexistence at the "roundtable." I said: The existence of an opposition in Parliament may be a constructive factor in government. I said this before the elections and continue to maintain this now, after the elections.

The official results of the elections are still not known. These are honest elections. I think that as long as the final results are not known, it would be wrong for me to indulge in far-reaching interpretations, which may prove to be hasty speculations.

The unofficial, incomplete information that has become available to date indicates that the elections assumed the character of a plebiscite and that they have produced a result that is not favorable to the coalition. We will, of course, analyze the results. However, at this stage I can already say that in making their individual decisions, voters were, above all, guided by a feeling of negative response [odreagowanie]. The question that remains open is whether the sum total of these decisions is a true expression of the collective will of society. I do not think so, and judging by the statements made by our opposition partners, I am not alone in thinking this.

Irrespective of how one judges the results of the elections, one thing is certain—it was a great experience in democracy for the Poles. The elections, which entailed a risk for the governing coalition—a risk that it was conscious of—were the product of a determined will to implement the "roundtable" decisions. I see no alternative to the path that we chose on the basis of a firm conviction.

It is time to establish a broad, post-election coalition that would take the form of a pact to promote economic reform and democracy. I would like to remind you of what General Jaruzelski said before the elections: "It would be disastrous for Poland to take the path of hostility, tension, and upheavals. It would be salutary for Poland to take the path of accord, democracy, and responsibility."

We take pluralism literally. After all, we could have entered the elections on a bloc against bloc basis. However, this would have meant adopting a confrontational approach. It would have forced us to maintain centralist practices, to appoint candidates. We could have filled all our seats in the first round, but we would have remained prisoners of our past. The left is being reborn as a vital social movement. New people have appeared on our side during the elections. New ideas have appeared. We are pluralist.

I regret to have to say that the lengthy, unreasonable campaign waged against the national list influenced voters' behavior. I think that those who initiated the campaign lack political imagination. The right kinds of thoughts on this subject came too late. You do not close the door on an accord before those who initiated it.

The electorate wants reform. The reform program was approved at the "roundtable." We will not accomplish reforms by ourselves. Cooperation is a prerequisite for the success of the reforms. We are ready. Our camp is conducting extensive political, structural reassessments.

The whole world is watching the elections in Poland. Being the first event of its kind, the elections are being considered something of a sensation. Whenever something is new, it prompts surprise. However, these were not the last elections. An open play of forces in politics is becoming the Polish norm. Normalization is democracy.

DAGENS NYHETER, Sweden: Will the Rakowski government remain in power or will it resign?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The government will tender its resignation, as is customary in Poland following parliamentary elections.

Adam Wysocki, Radio Polonia: What is the Polish Government's position on the situation in China? Thank you.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: We are all moved by the events in China. Polish society and the Polish authorities have received the news of the tragic events in Beijing with profound concern. We express our sincere sympathy to

the families of those killed and those who have suffered. The PRC and Poland have been linked to one another by traditional ties of friendship, mutual respect, and comprehensive cooperation.

Sino-Polish relations have been developing well, especially in recent years, and we hope that current events will not impact negatively on their further development.

What happened in Beijing is a great tragedy in a country with which we are friends. We believe that the conflicts that have erupted will be resolved by the Chinese themselves without the use of force, that reason and realism will triumph, as was the case in the past, and that China's reform processes and international position will not be diminished.

Patricia Koza, UPI: I realize that not all the results are through yet, but it seems that the national list has quite simply failed in this election, which could lead to a kind of constitutional crisis in Poland because the Constitution calls for 400 filled seats in the Sejm. What does the government intend to do in such a situation?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The Constitution indeed says that the Sejm consists of 400 deputies. It was an oversight by the authors of the election rules that these rules do not conform to this constitutional provision. We were all in a hurry. However, the problem can be solved.

Andrew Borowiec, WASHINGTON TIMES: You said that the government will resign in accordance with custom. When?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: When the Parliament convenes.

Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Polish TV News: Almost 40 percent of eligible voters did not vote. Do you think this had a negative effect on the election results?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Such a low turnout is bound to have influenced the results. As you know, no surveys indicated such a low turnout. No one who took part in the election campaign expected it. Of course it is too soon to make a sociological assessment of pre-election behavior, but I think this low turnout really did affect the coalition's results. The missing 20 percent of voters—20 percent is the difference between the expected turnout, on the basis of surveys, and the actual turnout—did not vote because of the confrontational nature of the election, which was no fault of ours. They quite simply did not want to take part in a race.

Marcin Gugulski, "Solidarity" press: Last week we also talked about surveys, and you said that the results of the "Solidarity" surveys showing a seven to one lead by Warsaw senator candidates from the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee were wishful thinking on the part of this Committee. You insisted that the final results would be much worse for "Solidarity." Yet this does seem to have happened.

After that, you said that the surveys of the Public Opinion Research Center indicated that only 9 percent of voters would cross out those candidates not belonging to "Solidarity." Judging from the fate of the national list, this percentage was considerably greater.

My question is: Does the government not intend to stop wasting our money on surveys by the Public Opinion Research Center which are so glaringly inaccurate and which, one can assume, employ erroneous methods of gauging public opinion? And does the government not intend to avail itself in future of the services of opinion research centers that perform their work honestly and conscientiously, including independent centers like the ones operated by the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Until now, all you have asked is that we reduce our spending on the Interior Ministry and Army. This is the first time I have heard you ask us to reduce our spending on opinion polls. We will not do so. As far as I know, Colonel Kwiatkowski, head of the Public Opinion Research Center, will visit you in the next few days and tell you exactly how his center carries out surveys and interprets the results.

Radio France Internationale: You said that the oversight in the election rules and their nonconformity with the Constitution can be resolved. Is there a chance that this will be done by 18 June? If so, will it be done by means of negotiations with the opposition-"Solidarity" side?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: This problem can be resolved.

Portuguese Television: If the final results turn out to be the way they seem right now, will the choice of president not depend on an agreement with the opposition, just like the choice of new premier?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I am not going to comment on the final results before they have been officially announced. Apart from the statement I have made on this subject, I have nothing to say.

LA STAMPA [no name given]: In view of the situation that has emerged, one that is completely without precedent, have some special instructions been issued to the military, have they simply been placed on alert, or do they simply have to remain in their barracks?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The laughter that you can hear in this hall answers your question.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: You said that the constitutional crisis will have to be averted in some way. Could you tell us what possible means are available? Is it a question of announcing additional elections, of co-opting some more well-known citizens, or of completely annulling the results of these elections in view of the fact that there has been an oversight and the electoral code is incompatible with the requirements of the Constitution?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I did not talk about a constitutional crisis. I talked about regulations contained in the electoral code being incompatible with the provision of the Constitution that I indicated. I said that this issue requires consideration.

Deby Stewart, AP: In proposing a grand coalition, what specific posts in the cabinet would be offered to the opposition?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Perhaps we should wait on this matter until the new parliament meets and the president charges the premier with forming a government.

Jacek Wedrowski, INTERPRESS: Can we expect a meeting between Premier Rakowski and Lech Walesa to take place shortly?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I do not exclude the possibility of such a meeting taking place. I think that it would be useful.

Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: You said that the question of the 35 names on the national list is being considered. Who is considering it? Is it being discussed with the opposition, or by the Constitutional Tribunal, or by the government? I would like you to tell us who is considering it?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: It is being considered by the competent bodies.

Patricia Koza, UPI: I can understand your reluctance to answer this question at all. However, to put it somewhat differently, will it be at all possible for the Sejm to convene with only 436 deputies?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I said that the issue requires consideration.

AVENIERE [no name given]: Irrespective of the 65-percent seat allocation, do you not think that it would be advantageous for the Polish Communist Party to become the opposition in view of the way in which the elections appear to be turning out?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I do not think so.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Can we expect any changes to the State Council chairman's foreign visit schedule?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I do not have any information to that effect.

Wojciech Minicz, Voice of America: Among the forecasts that were being made before the elections, I came across the following view on a possible "Solidarity" election victory in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, it would be, and I quote: "a dangerous arrangement that would mean complete destabilization and a confrontational situation." What do you think of this view in light of the initial election results?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I made the assessment that I could make on the basis of the information that is available to date in my opening statement.

Deby Stewart, AP: What does the government intend to discuss during an eventual meeting with Walesa? Is such a meeting absolutely necessary, and if so, why?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I said I thought such a meeting would be useful. It seems to me that after the elections, and the world not end with the elections, the question of coexistence between Poland's main political forces, methods of cooperation between them for the sake of the reforms, and methods of reaching agreement between them will have to be considered.

Surender Bhutani, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA: Could you tell us the reaction from other East European countries?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: To what, may I ask?

Surender Bhutani: To the loss of the elections.

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The elections have not been lost. You will find out the reaction of other countries if you ask the relevant government spokesmen.

Robert Lusnia, "Solidarity" press: Do you not think the elections have taken place a little too soon after the "roundtable"?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: We could argue for a long time on whether they have taken place too early or too late. I do not think I can say what would be the best time for them. In accordance with the accord, we held these elections as soon as possible, so that the "roundtable" accord could be implemented as quickly as possible. We did not procrastinate.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: In the beginning, you said you do not know whether the election results really convey the joint will of the voters. Could you explain what you meant?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I said that I thought that the pencils of voters were guided by individual emotions and a need to vent one's feelings. This was a certain spoiling tactic, if I may say so. I think that if the elections had taken place with a knowledge of what such a tactic can achieve, the voters would have held their pencils more firmly, and the outcome would have been determined not by emotions, but by some general opinion.

Ewa Gajewska [no affiliation given]: You assessed the "Solidarity" election campaign in negative terms, especially the opposition to the national list. Are you happy with the coalition's campaign, especially that of the PZPR?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I am not the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] spokesman. The PZPR spokesman appears before you quite often. Nevertheless I too can answer this question as an observer of the elections, if you are interested.

I believe that our restrained—I do not hesitate to use that word—and dignified campaign is correct. It sets a certain pattern of political conduct and influences the climate. This is a certain pattern for the future, which I believe our partners will also emulate.

RAI: As you say, you are not the spokesman of the PZPR, but of the government. My question concerns a structural issue. "Solidarity" wants an amendment to that part of the Constitution which speaks of the PZPR's leading role. Do you think an amendment like that is possible?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The Sejm we have just elected shall be the constitutional authority. That Sejm can either change the Constitution or adopt a new one. It is up to the Parliament what this future constitution will be like.

Yusef Mah'd, WAFA Palestinian Agency: If we already had the final election results, would it be possible to say that the future government's foreign policy will change?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: No, the Polish Government's foreign policy will not change. We have permanent foreign policy principles, based on an understanding of Polish interests and the Polish raison d'etat, and on an understanding of the firm majority of our society.

HERALD TRIBUNE [no name given]: Once the present Rakowski government tenders its resignation, can we expect Rakowski to be charged with the task of forming a new government?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The president is to charge someone with the task of forming a new government.

Andrzej Jankowski, "Solidarity" Press: It is being said all over the country that this year information on polling stations was very poor compared with the information that was provided during the previous elections. Do you have anything to say on this subject?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I do not think that the reason for the low turnout was the one that you gave. I think that those who wanted to vote found the polling stations. They were not hidden away somewhere.

A Dutch journalist: Mr Bisztyga said that the party will have to draw political conclusions from the results of the elections. What impact might these political conclusions have on coalition governing?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I think that these conclusions should result in clearer, more consistent adherence to the path that we have chosen, that is, the path of democracy and accord. I think that we need a reassessment of many of the elements in the conduct of politics, of forms of political existence. I think that it must become more apparent that our coalition is a political, parliamentary coalition. We are overcoming the legacy of a political system in which the conduct of politics was synonymous with government. Now we are all learning about political, parliamentary and electoral existence.

Andrzej Wiecko, NEWSWEEK: Do you expect the elections in 4 years' time to be fully democratic?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: I expect them to be, because the present elections were also fully democratic.

Deby Stewart, AP: You said that the government is proposing the establishment of a broad coalition together with the opposition. But it is not quite clear to me what the government is offering and why the opposition should accept, as the opposition actually won the elections. What exactly is the government offering the opposition?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: This is not some form of bargaining. We are not trying to strike some kind of business deal. The governing coalition needs a constructive opposition as an element of control, rectification, and cooperation. The opposition will not govern Poland without the coalition, if only because it does not want to assume the responsibility. We need each other. How the offer that you have mentioned will be received depends on the degree to which there is a feeling of joint responsibility.

I would like to repeat once again that this is not a question of bargaining, but of ensuring that there is agreement, peace, and cooperation in Poland and that the rules of conduct in politics and democracy are observed.

Marcin Gugulski, "Solidarity" Press: You talked about a broad coalition, and you said that foreign policy will undoubtedly change. Apart from foreign policy, what else will definitely change, and what can change? In other words, what is open to discussion and change and what is not?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: What enjoys the support of the majority will not change.

Peter Johnsson, GOTEBORGS POSTEN: You said that the elections were completely democratic. Does that mean that the next elections in 4 years' time will be

conducted according to the same principles? In other words, the coalition-government side will have a parliamentary majority that is decided before the elections?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Let us talk about the next elections at news conferences after those elections. I am not a fortune-teller. We have established that the process of change in Poland is an evolutionary process. Everyone who sat at the "roundtable" agrees with this.

We have fallen into the trap of Utopia several times in our history already; that is, we adopted certain assumptions that we then proceeded to implement without considering reality. Perhaps, this time we will adopt a different priority. Let political democratic practice develop first, and let us draw conclusions from this for practice, for the legislature, for constitutionalism, and for future elections as well. We must gain experience, and this experience will tell us how to proceed. That is the principle of democratic evolution that we adopted at the "roundtable."

Peter Johnsson, GOTEBORGS POSTEN: Would you say that following such a mass vote against the government, the government might concede that it has no right to hold authority at all?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: We still do not have the official results. I am basing myself on preliminary data. I wanted to point out to you that the elections were a majority vote. The number of votes does not match the number of seats. We will be able to interpret the official results once we have obtained them, and I think that you will see that the coalition enjoys quite good support.

British Independent Television: You spoke about the 1993 elections, and that those elections will be fully democratic. You are now saying that the present elections were also fully democratic. How can you possibly say that, at a time when the authorities have, as a result of these elections, lost the right to govern, though not under the terms of the Constitution? They have suffered a moral defeat. As a result of the above I have to disagree. Can we have your comments?

[Rykowski] It appears to me that we have taken a very important step forward. The experience was very illuminating. For the first time ever in the socialist countries, a ruling camp has submitted itself to undergo the test of an election.

I have mentioned that we were fully conscious of the risk of taking such a step, especially because Poland is not currently a country overflowing with milk and honey. We have problems; there is an economic crisis. We are also in the process of switching over from one system to another. This causes perturbations and problems. The fact that we are burdened with the legacy of the errors of past years, the politics of our predecessors, has put us in a difficult situation before the elections.

Nevertheless, we decided to hold these elections. We decided to do so because we realized that there is no other possibility of governing Poland other than by democratic methods.

Of course, one can interpret the result of these elections in many ways, and there will be time for that. It seems to me that considering this precedent we have set, and the difficult situation in which we find ourselves, these results are not bad, and they give us a legitimacy of being a partner of the accord.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: It is well known that Jaruzelski and other supporters of the "roundtable" found themselves under strong attack at the 10th Plenum, in the matter of "Solidarity's" legalization. How in light of this do you judge the election results and the risk inherent in the outcome for the reform movement in Poland and for these pro-reformist forces? Also, how do you judge the influence which it will exert on the democratic process in other countries? I am particularly thinking of Hungary, which next time intends to hold fully democratic elections, and for the Soviet Union, and Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: At the 10th Plenum, my chief, Premier Rakowski, put a number of questions to the members assembled in the Central Committee hall. Among the questions was this one: "If not 'Solidarity', then what?" I could also ask this question. What would have happened if there had been no "roundtable", or the elections? This is really the only way forward for Poland. There is no other way out. The monocentrist system is no longer in existence, society has been shown to be differentiated. It is differentiated in many ways. It must have the possibility of expressing and defining its interests. It must have political expression. There is simply no other way. As for our fate, you well know that the fate of reformers is a hard one. Our fate is not to be envied. We, the people of accord, find little sympathy from those from whom we expect understanding. Instead, we are faced with battle on many fronts. We could lose, but I am absolutely certain that the direction which we have initiated is the only direction forward for Poland.

A voice from the hall [notation as published]

Zbyslaw Rykowski: Madam, I shall be writing an article on this subject in POLITYKA. You cannot expect a government spokesman to tell you what effect the events in Poland will have on other countries, for God's sake.

Marcin Gugulski, "Solidarity" press: You said that 2 days ago, for the first time in history, ruling communists submitted to an election test. Are you saying that the elections to the legislative Sejm in 1947, in which the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] and Labor Party also took part, were not elections?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: This was so long ago that no one remembers anything about it.

Marcin Gug ski You cannot remember? My next question is, does the fact of the elections, and the subsequent demand for 465 Sejm deputies, cause a delay of the first sitting of the new Sejm?

Zbyslaw Rykowski: The elections are not over yet. Please be patient for a while.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 25-30 May

AU0206150389

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 26 to 31 May reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Marian Orzechowski and Marian Stepien attended a party held by Bulgarian Ambassador Ivan Gruyev to mark Bulgarian culture days in Warsaw on 24 May. (26 May 89 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, State Council chairman, received Jan Kinast, Polish ambassador to the United States, on 25 May. (26 May 89 p 4)

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received a delegation from the "Smile" Foundation for underprivileged children on 30 May. (31 May 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received Antonio Brancaccio, first president of the Italian Supreme Court, on 24 May. (26 May 89 p 2) He received the following new ambassadors, who presented their credentials, on 24 May: U Than Tun of Burma, Ibitetcho Isidore Laleye of Benin, and Kiumars Fotouhi-Ghiyam of Iran (26 May 89 p 4) He met with the electorate of Wloclawek on 28 May. (29 May 89 p 4)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received a delegation from the European Democratic Union on 30 May. (31 May 89 p 6)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a joint plenary session of the Opole Voivodship committees of the Polish United Workers Party, United Peasants Party, and Democratic Party in Opole on 24 May. (26 May 89 p 4)

Appearances for 30 May-5 Jun

AU0906180789

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 31 May to 7 June reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number of each report given in parentheses):

Stanislaw Ciosek, Manfred Gorywoda, and Zdzislaw Swiatek attended a meeting with the voters of Katowice on 1 June. (2 Jun 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek and Tadeusz Olechowski signed the book of condolences at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw in connection with the gas explosion in the Urals on 5 June. (6 Jun 89 p 2)

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the voters of Suwalki on 1 June. (2 Jun 89 p 3) He received Zbigniew Gertych, Polish ambassador to Great Britain, on 5 June. (6 Jun 89 p 5)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, held an election meeting with economic students in Warsaw on 2 June. (3-4 Jun 89 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation, held an election meeting with the work force of the "Polanil" engineering plant in Lodz on 31 May. (1 Jun 89 p 4)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, held an election meeting with farmers in Ciechanowice on 1 June. (2 Jun 89 p 4)

Ceausescu Greets President Bush on Birthday

AU1006192389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 10 Jun 89

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/06/1989—On the birthday anniversary of the President of the United States of America, George Bush, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu sent him a congratulatory telegram.

I take this opportunity to express my belief that, in keeping with the Romanian-American documents covenanted and in the spirit of the principles of full equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, the relations between our countries will see a positive development by joint efforts, in the interest of the two peoples, of the cause of collaboration, security and peace throughout the world, the telegram reads inter alia.

Bucharest Radio Notes Deng Xiaoping's Statements

AU1006181589 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] The Chinese press agency XINHUA reports that, in connection with the events and disturbances that have taken place recently in China, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China, made the following statement during a meeting at the headquarters of the CPC Central Committee and of the State Council with the commanders of the troops in charge of implementing martial law in Beijing.

These disturbances, said Deng Xiaoping, are independent of our will. At the beginning, a very small group of people organized disturbances that practically turned into a counterrevolutionary revolt that tries to turn over the Communist Party, eliminate the socialist system, and undermine the People's Republic of China in order to establish a bourgeois republic. By eliminating the counterrevolutionary revolt, the People's Liberation Army, the Military Police, and the personnel of the Public Security displayed high conscientiousness and courage. Although they risk their lives, the officers and soldiers of our Army have not forgotten the people, the party guidelines, and the interests of our state. Our Army can be justifiably called the People's Army and the steel bastion of our state.

This attempt showed that the Army is well trained. It proves that our Army is already the defender of our state, of the socialist system, and of the people's interests. This incident, Deng Xiaoping went on, made us think clearly about the future and the past. This will permit us to promote our cause with even greater vigor, to correct our mistakes, and to more markedly promote our strong points. Our political line and the principles and guidelines drafted at the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee are correct. Stressing that the fundamental political line, the orientations, and principles will remain unchanged, Deng Xiaoping said in conclusion: However, we will have to draw an account of our experience and continue with what is right, correct our mistakes, and make great efforts to improve what is unsatisfactory. In other words, we should draw appropriate conclusions regarding our present and look forward to the future.

Growth of Ties, Cooperation With USSR Noted

AU0906134789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1118 GMT 9 Jun 89

["Continual Development of Traditional Romanian-Soviet Friendly and Cooperative Links"—AGERPRES HEADLINE]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/6/1989—In a commentary on 55 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Soviet Union, "ROMANIA LIBERA" of 9 June shows inter alia: This event had a particular, major significance for the subsequent (?development of) the relations between the two countries and peoples, marking also the achievement of a desideratum of the revolutionary, progressive, democratic forces in Romania evincing the traditions of solidarity of the revolutionary movements in the two states in the fight for liberation from oppression and exploitation.

It is the merit of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) to have organized and led the antifascist fight in Romania, for the collaboration of the broadest democratic and progressive forces so as to take Romania out of the war and join the Soviet Union, all the forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the fight for the defeat of fascism in the Second World War.

The victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of the Romanian people on 23 August 1944 ushered in a new era in Romania's history and provided conditions for taking the Romanian-Soviet friendly and cooperative links to a new stage.

The Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union was signed on 4 February 1948, a document of historic importance in the evolution of the relations between the two countries. Ever since, the traditional friendship and manifold cooperation between the Romanian and Soviet peoples have developed continuously in all sectors of the socialist construction. The new Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and the Soviet Union signed on July 1970 took to a higher stage the relations and close collaboration between the parties, states and peoples of the two countries, relying on the lasting principles of respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, mutual assistance and non-interference in home affairs.

A most important role in the strengthening of friendship and collaboration, in the general development of the Romanian-Soviet links is played by summit talks and accords which are moments of utmost importance and each time have given new and powerful impetus to mutual collaboration and cooperation in policy-making, economy, science and technology, culture and other fields and have made a particular contribution to the amplification and diversification of fruitful collaboration being essential in the growth of the Romanian-Soviet links. A strong expression of the durable links between our parties, countries and peoples, of the joint wish to give them new dimensions were the May 1987 summit in Bucharest and the October 1988 summit in Moscow between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which opened new vistas to mutually advantageous fruitful collaboration.

In the light of summit decisions, the Romanian-Soviet links have a growing course. Of special importance is the permanent dialogue between the RCP and the CPSU, when a useful exchange of information and experience is made related to the socialist construction in the two countries. Contacts in all fields of activity develop, economic collaboration grows through the intensification of cooperation and specialization in production, especially in key industrial branches.

Romania's participation in a considerable number of bilateral conventions of economic cooperation, specialization and cooperation in production with the Soviet Union and their growing contribution to the development of goods exchange between the two countries are a tangible expression of the Romanian side's initiatives and interest in the continual intensification of collaboration with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union's material potential, successes in building a modern industry, in key sectors of science and technology and Socialist Romania's achievements provide most favourable conditions for the continual amplification and expansion of exchanges, cooperation and production specialization.

Romania showed that long-term general cooperation ventures on fuel and energy and raw materials were required to put new natural resources into the economic circuit so as to better meet the needs of CEMA member countries in these important fields. In context, Romania is of the opinion that production cooperation and specialization in power, mining, metal, chemical equipment and in extraction of useful ores should be expanded for the construction of gas main lines and others, so that these products should be ensured through mutual deliveries. Romania avails of modern units ready to work in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to manufacture such high-tech equipment.

Socialist Romania paid and pays special importance to the improvement of economic and technico-scientific collaboration between the two countries and to the improvement of the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In the development of the friendship with the Soviet Union and the deepening of mutual collaboration important is the exchanges of spiritual values, the collaboration in culture, arts, education, tourism and sports, mass media.

Romania and the Soviet Union work together internationally to solve the complex issues confronting mankind.

The anniversary of 55 years since the establishment of diplomatic links between Romania and the Soviet Union is an opportunity for the Romanian people to reiterate its conviction that the friendship and manifold collaboration between Romania and the Soviet Union will strengthen more in the interests and to the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism peace worldwide.

SCINTEIA on Bucharest Balkan Meeting

AU1006192789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 10 Jun 89

["Romania Works For Development of Economic Collaboration in the Balkans"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/06/1989—In a commentary in its June 10 issue, SCINTEIA refers to the ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology among Balkan states recently held in Bucharest and shows that it was unanimously appreciated to have been a highly significant event, giving expression to the joint wish of the participating countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania—to expand their collaboration in such an important field for the economic and social progress, for the consolidation of the policy of independence and sovereignty of each nation.

For Romania, host of the meeting, the paper goes on, the development of the friendly and good neighbourly links in the Balkans is one of the defining traits of its foreign policy, which shows in the multiple initiatives aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and understanding, free of nuclear and chemical arms and of foreign military bases.

Fine conditions are in place for this. First, in recent years, foundations have been set for important actions of collaboration among Balkan countries. A high interest is also shown in the development and diversification of cooperation forms, starting from the complementary character of the respective national economies, the advantages of geographic proximity.

Given this, the Bucharest meeting was a opportunity for a useful and constructive exchange of opinions and the understandings in principle reached marked an important progress along the line of efforts made by Balkan states to develop economic collaboration on multiple planes. Debates concentrated on identification of major domains of mutual interest and specific ways and means to better turn to account the multiple cooperation possibilities offered by the industrial and technico-scientific potential of the Balkan countries.

According to the joint communique released at the end of the meeting, the Balkan states expressed their will to examine possibilities to step up industrial cooperation and transfer of technology in a number of domains, as well as their resolve to facilitate the development of advanced forms of industrial cooperation and transfer of technology.

The joint communique of the meeting also includes a number of recommendations referring to the ways and means to boost industrial cooperation and transfer of technology among Balkan countries. In order to keep trace of the progress made and find future directions of action, it was recommended to convene—every two years in principle—ministerial meetings on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology in the Balkans on a rotation basis.

The perspective outlined by the understandings in Bucharest—SCINTEIA points out—stems from the encouraging results registered in latest years. The expansion of trade exchanges, the initiation of most various cooperation ventures—from the full utilization of the Danube to cooperation in key branches of technology and the joint building of important economic units of mutual interest in power engineering, mining, transport and telecommunications—illustrate, indeed, the large possibilities existing for a closer collaboration. Cooperation ventures so far are only a beginning, as shown in Bucharest. The development level of Balkan countries, their concern over the implementation of important programmes, the faster development of production forces require, besides greater efforts in each country, the expansion of their cooperation in all fields of activity. In context, Romania believes that collaboration in industry and transfer of technology is very important and that Balkan countries can solve together, in collaboration, many problems at the level of the latest gains of science and technology, can ensure their more powerful socio-economic development in general.

The new trends in the region, the progress in collaboration in various domains have a deep significance considering that the Balkans have the image of a geographic area of great diversity. Here there are countries with different social systems, countries belonging to different military and political alliances and economic groups—the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO, the Common Market and CMEA, respectively, and countries which do not belong to such organizations. Or, this very diversity, beyond the mentioned differences, inspires the Balkan countries in their common aspirations and interests. Romania takes the view that a broader collaboration is fully possible even going as far as the institutionalization of economic and technico-scientific collaboration, not opposing the two economic groups in Europe, but which should complete a collaboration with fine results regionally, in the Balkans.

Romania has and develops friendly and cooperative links with all Balkan states, the paper states. Romania is of the opinion that collaboration and good neighbourhood should be based on new principles of relations—observance of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, non-interference in home affairs, non-recourse to the threat and use of force, mutual advantage. These are principles which make a unitary whole, put by Romania in friendship treaties, in solemn declarations and joint communiques concluded with the Balkan states and other states the world.

The atmosphere of the Bucharest meeting, the diversity of specific proposals evinced a significant evolution to the establishment of a new climate, apt to stimulate the advance toward boosting manifold collaboration in the Balkans. All these underscore the significance of the implementation of Romania's proposal to organize a summit meeting Balkan with a decisive role in the development of understanding and collaboration, in strengthening security and peace in the Balkans. [sentence as received]

As for it, Romania is firmly determined to further work to develop greatly the manifold collaboration among Balkan countries, to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace and understanding, as an important contribution to the building of security and expansion of cooperation in Europe and the world over, SCINTEIA winds up.

AGERPRES Examines Foreign Debt Problem

AU0906190189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 9 Jun 89

["Romania and the Liquidation of Foreign Debt—the World and Historical Context"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/6/1989—As some orientative data show, from the end of the 14th century till 1918, the robbery committed by the Ottoman, Habsburgic and Tsarist Empires in the Romanian countries is tantamount to over 1.2 million kg of gold. To have a better image of what foreign dependence meant for the Romanian people, we should mention that in the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century the Romanian countries became the theatre of war between the armies of the three empires. The presence of foreign armies during six wars, which sum up more than 25 years, meant huge damage for the Romanian population settled where military operations were taking place or in some other temporarily occupied parts of the country.

The country's depletion of resources over the years made the progressive and patriotic ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in his effort to modernize and develop the Romanian economy, to resort to the first foreign loan 125 years ago, on 22 August 1864. From that time till the end of the first quarter of this year Romania has been a constant debtor although it paid upwards of 100 billion dollars in the form of installments or interest rates.

As early as the first half of this century mistrust was shown in the positive role of foreign loans, being even contested. So, Prof. Ion N. Angelescu stated in 1923 that... he did not know any example of a national economy which had developed with foreign capital brought with sacrifices and concessions...

At the end of the past decade and especially at the beginning of this one Romania was put in a special position as it had to pay more for the imported petroleum and received lower sums for its exports, it had to pay excessively high interest rates and, more particularly, to surmount tremendous difficulties in fulfilling its export programmes following, in the main, the strong recession in the developed capitalist countries in 1980-1982.

In the above-mentioned context, Romania was compelled to reschedule the payment of part of the amortizations falling due in 1982 and 1983, and resorted to an arrangement with the International Monetary Fund whereby a credit line was envisaged to be opened worth some 1.5 billion dollars, in three annual tranches, of which only two were used as the third was no more necessary. By that time, the foreign trade enterprises had to surmount great difficulties in the market of some Western countries. Mention should be made of the tough practice of payment in advance according to which for any import, no matter how low in value, the respective sum had to be previously deposited with the banks preferred by the Western trading partners. Such a discriminatory practice was conducive to immobilization of funds when Romania was obviously going through difficult moments regarding the necessary liquidities. Added to all this should be the very high rates of interest practiced in the foreign market at that time—16-18 percent, and even 20-22 percent over short periods of time, the setting of interest rates through the free game of the market like, for instance, London Interbank Offered Rate (LIBOR), the practice of variable interest rates which virtually placed the debtor at the creditor's discretion and contributed to fastly increase the external debt.

In such complex conditions, adverse for the debtor countries in general, and in consideration of the people's foremost interest, the Romanian State took energetic measures, showing as ever probity and correctness in its relations with other countries, to wipe off the foreign debt.

A Policy and a Performance—Full Repayment of Foreign Debt

Romania concentrated on mobilizing internal factors at a maximum with a view to liquidating its foreign debt as soon as possible. The measures it took proved viable since they were based on the scientific strategy consistently promoted after the Ninth Congress, namely the continuous high-rate development and modernization of industry, agriculture, construction, science and education, of socioeconomic activities.

The earmarking of 30 percent or so of the national income for development and of 70 percent for consumption enabled the country to fulfil the fundamental targets of the policy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society. Owing to the allocation of more than 2,000 billion lei to development, units of great economic and social interest were built and commissioned in the 1981-1989 interval alone. The Romanian economy has grown ever stronger: The national wealth increased from 330 billion lei in 1950 to nearly 5,200 billion lei now, with the greatest part of this increase being registered after the Ninth Party Congress. Fixed assets also grew—from 460 billion lei as they were put at in 1965 to over 3,300 billion lei now.

Deep-going changes occurred in the foreign trade strategy owing to the better promotion of exports and the faster assimilation of products, trade balance surpluses being obtained from one year to another: 300 million dollars in 1981, 1.8 billion dollars in 1982, 2.4 billion dollars in 1983, 3.1 billion dollars in 1984, 2.5 billion dollars in 1985, 2 million dollars in 1986, 2.8 billion dollars in 1987 and 4 billion dollars in 1988.

Such strategic (changes) were all the more necessary as over 1950-1980, therefore in a period of thirty years, only in six years, the trade balance recorded surpluses.

The liquidation of foreign debt entailed sustained efforts on the part of the Romanian people. Over 1975-1989 Romania paid about 21 billion dollars, of which interest rates represented upwards of 7 billion dollars. Such a situation could but influence some aspects of the socioeconomic life in the country leading to certain delays or adjustments in fulfilling the goals planned. Notwithstanding, even in such difficult conditions, the remuneration fund rose 60 percent in the 1981-1989 interval through two pay raises, by the last one, which started in 1988, benefiting almost eight million working people who in 1990 will obtain additional incomes worth 29 billion lei as well as 1.4 million pensioners who in 1989 will be given 2 billion lei worth of additional incomes.

Development Without Foreign Credits

The complete liquidation of foreign debt and the determination to give up foreign credits have special political and economic significance as the country's full independence is ensured both economically and politically. Specifically, the wiping-off of the foreign debt makes the improvement of the socioeconomic development strategy possible by earmarking growing resources, no longer affected by payments abroad, and setting a judicious ratio between the export and import of commodities, with account being taken of both the formation of the

necessary liquidity reserves by achieving a trade balance surplus and the rational use of the country's resources by avoiding the national income's flow out of the country, ensuring higher efficiency of foreign trade and of the international economic cooperation ventures. Certainly, the liquidation of the debt is only a prerequisite for a fast modernization of the national economy and better use of the country's material and human resources.

Given, on the one hand, the limited character of national resources and the modest capital availabilities of Romania and, on the other hand, its experience and achievements in personnel training and indigenous scientific research, intensive development should be furthered and deepened and so should macroeconomic and microeconomic modernization, the structure of the Romanian industry should fastly improve, scientific and technological progress promoted to a greater extent and the quality of products and services raised.

The giving-up of foreign credits for development means in no way the promotion of an autarchical policy. Romania continues to be concerned for the ensurance of a permanent balance between its own effort and economic, technical, scientific, and cultural collaboration with the world countries. On the optimal achievement of such a balance depends and will further depend the dynamism of the country's multilateral progress. In the context, an outstanding role will be played by the substantial increase in the country's currency potential. Were we to refer to 1986-1988, the currency availabilities can be measured by the trade balance surplus of 8.8 billion dollars or so which were used mostly to pay off the external debt through credit reimbursement and interest rate payments.

Once the restrictions caused by the foreign debt disappeared, prerequisites were created for a new quality in the decision-making process for the establishment of priorities in the earmarking of currency resources: Only a small part of Romania's currency resources is and will be engaged by the outstanding payment duties at the beginning of the plan period.

A favourable framework has also been created for the reduction of hard currency payments to achieve the same volume of imported raw and subsidiary materials, fuel, machinery and equipment needed in the national economy and to carry out international economic cooperation activities.

As a country which wiped off its foreign debt, Romania stands security for its foreign partners as regards the payment of dues. [sentence as received] In fact, Romania has always acknowledged and fulfilled its payment duties, including the period when the foreign debt reached high levels.

In the new Romanian foreign trade strategy major importance is attached to growing economic efficiency.

The growing competitiveness of Romanian products owing to the implementation of the production organization and modernization programmes provides for both the increase of exports and the fulfilment of one of the basic conditions to pass on to the convertibility of the national currency.

Beijing Situation Continues To Draw Reaction

Darmanovic Rebuffs SFRY Response

LD1006165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Titograd, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—Srdjan Darmanovic, member of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, expressed his profound dissatisfaction with the official stances of the highest Yugoslav state and party organs regarding the latest events in China.

He made his critical view on this issue known at the very beginning of today's session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, without insisting that a discussion should be held on the subject.

In the statement of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and that of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, said Darmanovic, our top state and party organs did not summon up the strength to express anything other than concern and regret, while the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium pointed also to the "danger that there would be a halt in democratic processes, economic and political reforms which have been undertaken by the Communist Party of China and which have great significance for the development of that great country."

If several thousand innocent victims who were not enemies but rather who comprised a movement for democracy and a movement against a leadership which is no longer capable of carrying out its duties—other than with the help of the Army, of course—represents a danger, and not a total negation of humanity, then it may, with reason, be asked whether the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium considers that a regime which murders its own young people, as French President Mitterrand put it, can carry out social and political reforms. Similarly, in the statement by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs there is an appeal—now, after all that's happened—for political solutions without violence and the use of force.

In Darmanovic's opinion our highest state organs did not have the right, for the sake of proverbial diplomatic reticence, to react in this way. Instead of this, there would have been much justification, for the sake of our national dignity as a state, in considering some other diplomatic steps and measures, he said.

Press Reaction to Crackdown

LD1006203889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—Were the bloody events in China triggered by a military coup, a struggle for power or the incapability of the real-socialist reformers to cross their Rubicon and agree to carry out true changes in a socialist system which has proved untenable, ask Yugoslav dailies in their commentaries on the political situation in China.

The Belgrade daily BORBA notes that the events have alarmed the world's left, which deplored the use of military force to thwart the student demonstrations in Beijing.

The daily recalls a statement by the late Italian Communist Party Secretary-General Enrico Berlinguer that "the left is sensitive to every event leading to the limitation of democratic rights because it shatters the image of socialism which is always associated with the values of freedom and democracy."

To those political forces described as the right, the events in China are a confirmation of the thesis that communist regimes are "incorrigible," warns BORBA.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA says that China raised hope that socialism was capable of surmounting the crisis it is facing. Tiananmen Square is now a "bloody symbol," like Budapest, Berlin and Prague, POLITIKA adds. To make the tragedy worse, this time, helpless people were run over by tanks of their own Army.

The Yugoslav public was appalled by the "retaliation against the people" as a "strategic act of the regime to preserve itself at all cost" which was provoked by a mere attempt to introduce new forms of political life to the measure of a new generation of Chinese, the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA daily emphasizes.

Yugoslav dailies note that the world is now witnessing perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, the introduction for the first time in the history of socialist societies of a multi-party system and free elections in Poland, pluralistic trends in Hungary and numerous open dilemmas as to the democratization of Yugoslavia's self-managing model.

China has, however, shown that the option of force in socialism has still not completely yielded to the growing democratic trends and changes, the commentaries stress.

The democratic socialist forces are now striving to maintain the human and democratic face of socialism, said Franc Setipc, Yugoslav party Central Committee member and former senior Slovenian party official. In his regular commentary in the Saturday edition of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK, Setinc notes that it would be wrong if, following events in China, socialism should now be cursed by all.

For the rest of the socialist world, the events in China will be a lesson that "economic perestroyka" cannot be implemented without political democracy, the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE notes. Incapable of carrying out internal reforms, a regime which held itself to be socialist resorted to the most brutal means to stay in power.

Youth Group Protests PRC Events

LD0906172289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—Regarding events in Beijing, the university conference presidium of the Ljubljana Socialist Youth Federation sent a sharp protest to the SFRY Presidency which proposes among other things "that Yugoslavia immediately break diplomatic relations with the present Chinese regime".

"After the massacre of students and thousands of other unarmed people in Beijing, we propose, the protest note stated, that Yugoslavia, in addition to moral condemnation, immediately break diplomatic relations with the present Chinese regime. This is the only way for us to condemn with dignity that political crime, which the authorities employed in order to halt the emergence of democracy. We should renew diplomatic relations when a new Chinese leadership condemns killings of their own people. We believe that such a move would initiate the process of democratization of Yugoslavia's foreign policy", stressed the university conference presidium of the Ljubljana Socialist Youth Federation in its protest.

Commentary Views 'Painful Search' for Reform

AU0906153189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 89 p 3

[Mirko Klarin commentary: "Is There Any Way Out at All?"]

[Text] The power in China is literally rolling in the streets on tank tracks. The split in the state and party leadership, or rather a historical clash of the notorious "two lines" that has marked decades of Chinese development, has again been transfered from the corridors of power and plenum halls to city streets and squares. This time it has been done more brutally than ever, indicating the determination of the clashing factions to continue their ideological showdown to the last student and soldier.

Regardless of the fact that the sides in the clash (in the streets) are unequal, one side being armed and the other unarmed, both the students and the soldiers are ultimately victims. They are victims of politics, or more precisely of ideology. This is an ideology that proclaims that no price is too high to defend "certain values." What the "values" are that demand such a defense is determined by the well-known "golden rule" which reads: "The rules are determined by the one in possession of gold."

The bloody week in Beijing and the confusion of the undeclared but apparent civil war that erupted in China subsequently bring us back to the basic question which appears again and again but which has had no reliable answer yet. This is perhaps because, with our will's optimism, we refuse to accept the numerous negative answers as reliable and definitive, hoping that different outcomes are nevertheless possible.

The question reads: Can real socialism be reformed at all (so that it preserves its "basic nature," whatever this may imply) or is it necessary to destroy it (as one of the leading Hungarian reformers recently concluded) so that society may survive and emerge from the deadlock of the present model of economic, political, and social development? It is a model whose bankruptcy has become obvious even to the ruling strata and parties.

The history of real socialism is the history of unsuccessful attempts of reform and of successful suppressions of "counterrevolutions." From Lenin's NEP [new economic policy] through Khrushchev, Dubcek, and Kadar, up to Deng's "four modernizations," no reform initiated and started has been carried out to the end or has led to the proclaimed goals. On the other hand, from the periods of Stalin's terror, through Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Prague 1968, Warsaw 1981, and up to Beijing 1989, all the "running ahead into the future" has been successfully liquidated and all "counterrevolutionary" attempts to search for a "way out" of real socialism have been smashed. Is there any way out?

Of course, all the cited attempts at reforming real socialism and the numerous attempts that have not been cited did not have the same starting positions, the same nature, and goals, and they were not liquidated in the same way. Some of the attempts were restricted to a change of the economic mechanism, and some also had a certain political implication; some were initiated from below, and others imposed from above; some were prevented by foreign interventions, and others by internal involutions.

Generalizations are dangerous, and analogies are superficial, but it is nevertheless possible to perceive and to define a general rule: All the reform attempts have been blocked if the reformers lacked the strength or the will to pay two prices at the same time: to accept the market economy and at the same time to open up the scope for political freedoms or democracy. Only now, for the first time since the "Prague Spring" of 1968, the Soviet, Hungarian, and Polish reformers have the will, and it seems also the strength to pay both prices simultaneously. At the same time, the Chinese reformers—who started among the first and who went furthest in economic liberalization and the opening to the principles and rules of the market—have continued to live under the illusion that they will be able to follow and to control the economic and social processes which they themselves initiated with the same rigidly centralized political structures, without any "concessions" in the field of democratization. Regardless of what happens in China in the coming days and months, this illusion has been definitely buried in the mass student and people's movement for democracy. Its bloody suppression can only temporarily postpone the confrontation with the "question of democracy," and sooner or later, the question will inevitably reappear in an even more aggravated and radical form.

The confrontations of real socialism, or socialisms, with the "question of democracy" are often not pleasant at all and they contain many trials and pitfalls. To begin political processes in the regimes that for decades have been living under the illusion of monolithism and violently resolved contradictions, is to open a Pandora's box of suppressed and ignored national, social, moral, cultural, and other problems of unimagined dimensions. The reformers must face them if they want to continue and to accomplish the job they have started, having no reliable guarantees that this will assure them ultimate success but being aware that there is simply no other way. Gorbachev's problems with the awakened nationalisms and separatisms, with the obstruction of the state and party apparatus, and with criminal negligence of catastrophic consequences (from Chernobyl to last week's explosion in the Urals), the problems of the Polish party with the opposition which the elections last week showed to be enjoying undivided and almost absolute support of the people, which is soon in store for the Hungarian party...all these do not in the least increase the attraction of political reforms and democratization in the besieged palaces and fortresses of the party and state elites. Is there any other way out?

No. The painful search for the "way out," caught as one is between a rejected past and an uncertain future, small advances and great retreats, constant clashes with new and unsuspected problems and resistance...all this unequivocally shows that precisely the "question of democracy" is of decisive and determining importance for the outcome of any attempt at reforming real socialism. All the attempts to bypass this, to accept democracy perhaps "conditionally" as a "necessary evil" or a potentially "useful instrument" which could contribute to a great efficiency of the economy and society, are useless maneuvers, in advance condemned to failure.

This in fact is the greatness of the tragedy and the sacrifices of the Beijing students, mowed down in the Square of Heavenly Peace. The persistence with which they countered fate has shown that democracy for them is not a mere means for achieving some "higher aims"—which, depending on the "relationship of forces," are proclaimed by the party or by the ones that possess "gold"—but that democracy in itself is this higher, even paramount goal, a value in itself. It is the bane of mankind or of ideology that precisely on the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, so many young lives were sacrificed on the altar of such an obvious truth.

Romanian Silence Over World Events Underlined

LD1006181689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 10 Jun 89

["Romania's 'Wall of Silence'"—By Petar Tomic]

[Text] Bucharest, June 10 (TANJUG)—Practically all the recent major developments in the socialist world have for days gone unnoticed in the Romanian media as if they were of no concern to it. There have been absolutely no reports on the events in China, only a few sentences on the Congress of the Soviet People's Deputies and the elections in Poland seem never to have taken place.

The "wall of silence" on developments which Romanian propagandists believe could stir up the imagination of the reader or cast a shadow on relations with the countries concerned is becoming more obvious. Silence indicates the stand that one should not interfere in the problems of others or create problems for oneself by writing about others.

This is the only logical explanation for the fact that while the Romanian press is questioning the validity of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement, it has not so far reported on any of the developments in neighbouring Soviet Moldavia where people are organizing protest meetings at least once a week, demanding the right to use the Romanian language and script.

The Romanian media's attitude towards information and propaganda does not seem to be part of the official policy. At the ideological plenum of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee last year, President Nicolae Ceausescu himself said that propaganda activity, which had an important role in mobilizing forces during the first years of the building of socialism in Romania, to a large extent today lags behind the development of production forces.

That the logic of "what is not in the newspapers has not happened" is no longer applicable is best shown by the long lines of people which form every day in front of the display windows of Soviet missions in Bucharest. People wait up to an hour-and-a-half to read several lines of text and see photographs from the Congress of the Soviet Peoples' Deputies.

This picture of perestroyka displayed behind glass is supplemented by watching Bulgarian television, which has lately frequently begun to air live transmissions of important events from Moscow.

Thus, a window to the world does exist, but unfortunately a foreign one.

Loncar Praises USSR 'Democratic Dialogues'

LD0906060289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 8 (TANJUG)—Genuine democratic dialogues are being conducted in the leadership of the Soviet state and a process of social democratisation continues in the whole country, Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar said in the foreign policy committee of the federal parliament here today.

The Yugoslav foreign minister added that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is consistent in the orientation that a constant progress must be made in these processes in spite of difficulties.

Referring to the developments in Poland, Loncar, noting that the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) suffered and acknowledged defeat in recent elections in a democratic manner, assessed that this opens up a new chapter in the life of the country.

Hungary too strives for a deep reformist transformation, economic and political. However, said the Yugoslav minister, there is still a discrepancy of views on these developments as well as on the role of key persons [words indistinct] the hitherto party life of the country.

Internal Affairs Committee Hears Kosovo Report

AU0906161889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] The most critical time when Albanian nationalists and separatists may organize new demonstrations in Kosovo is the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. This, among things, is included in the report on the activity of internal affairs organs in the province which has been adopted by the Internal Affairs Committee of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber. Here is Milorad Jovic's report that we have just received:

[Jovic] One cannot exclude the possibility that attempts to organize demonstrations, sabotage, acts causing damage, boycott of school classes, and assassinations, or to go into hiding in order to perpetrate terrorist actions will be repeated in Kosovo. Kosovo remains the central and gravest hotbed and it can further destabilize the situation in the country and endanger its constitutional order. It is pointed out in the report that the period of a gradual normalization of the situation in the province in the wake of the SFRY Presidency's emergency measures has lasted for a relatively short time. Hostile activity has not been reduced, only redirected in the form of subversive propaganda. The report provides details on all actions carried out by counterrevolutionaries recently and all the efforts the security organs have made with a view toward calming down the situation in the province. However, it was pointed out, calls on the people to organize terrorist actions and diversionist actions on railroads and against facilities of the Yugoslav People's Army are increasing. People are more and more frequently being called upon to organize an armed uprising and to flee to the hills or underground. The Albanian hostile emigres abroad have been intensifying their activity and announcing plans to organize new anti-Yugoslav demonstrations, all this with a view toward internationalizing the Kosovo problem.

The report includes the assessment that the normalization of the situation in the province depends much on the trends in other parts of the country and the implementation of social reforms.

We can single out the assessment that the measures of isolating a certain number of people showed themselves to be justified and appropriate, and they are currently being applied to 46 people.

Taking part in the debate, Aleksandar Jovanovic pointed out that the emergency measures were introduced jointly, but the attitude toward implementing them has not been the same in all parts of the country. Differences of this kind appeared at the committee's session, too. Petar Hedzet demanded an explanation on the regulation imposing restrictions on movements, that is, he wanted to know whether the regulation is in conformity with Article 179 of the SFRY Constitution which says that someone can be detained for a maximum of 3 days.

Delegate Ramo Ali Hajdari is of the opinion that it is unacceptable to make generalizations, because the situation is not the same in all Kosovo communities. For instance, it is not the same at all faculties at Pristina University.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber will discuss the situation in Kosovo at a session in July, and the members of the committee concluded that by that time the SFRY Presidency should make a comprehensive assessment of the results of the emergency measures in the province.

The current situation in Kosovo was probably best described by a story told by Zoran Tadijin, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs. Last night on the road leading out of Lipljan, two militiamen were carrying out a routine check of identity cards. Instead of showing their identity cards, two Albanians pulled their guns. After a short shoot-out in which fortunately nobody was wounded, the attackers were subdued.

Mustafa Speaks About 885 Percent Inflation Rate

AU1006203689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 89 p 3

[M. Dapcevic report: "Inflation 885 Percent"]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jun—The level of inflation this year, measured by retail prices, will be about 885 percent, Nazmi Mustafa, federal secretary for internal trade, told a session of the Market Committee of the SFRY Assembly, which discussed prices today for the first time since the change in the federal government. The calculations presented by Musfata were based on the average rise of prices since the beginning of the year which was 21 percent a month. He also assessed that it would be unrealistic to expect a lower rise of prices this year, "because they merely share the fate of society, of production and consumption."

Nazmi Mustafa recalled that prices in May rose less than expected (23.4 percent). Services were leading (with 30 percent), and among them the post, telegraph, and telephone charges (69.3 percent). Polemics occurred about the assessment of the federal secretary who said that it was detrimental that a market does not exist with all its functions, and that without a market one should not expect prices to stabilize or calm down.

Delegates were of the opinion that some kind of a market certainly exists, but Mustafa reminded them of the sectors where it is completely lacking. Nevertheless, the state will not interfere in price relationships, and social control will be carried out in a different way in the future. The prices of agricultural produce are being freely formed in the market, and the system of protection will be narrowed down considerably.

The representative of the Federal Executive Council particularly pointed out that the government does not intend to adopt an anti-inflation program, considering that many economic measures from the new armory will be sufficiently restrictive to calm down the prices. However, some delegates do not share this government opinion and stress that the inflation has gained too much momentum to be able to be left to long-term effects.

Slavica Veljanovska (Macedonia) stressed that chaos reigns in prices and that the people have lost every hope that this will change. Milibor Jovanovic said that such a situation may ultimately endanger the very economic reform.

Delegates believed that prices endanger work and normal business more and more everyday, and Federal Secretary Mustafa agreed.

Slovenia's Smole Speaks on Pluralism, Reform

AU0906115089 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 89 p 14

[Slobodan Zikic report: "There Is No Reform Without Pluralism"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 May—Journalists who are on a 3-day visit to Slovenia were today addressed by Joze Smole, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Slovenia, on Slovene pluralism and other topical sociopolitical issues. In replying to many questions, Joze Smole was often at odds with the official stands of some central Slovene organs. Thus at the end of his speech, for example, he stressed that he had been wrongly interpreted in a part of the information media.

"I did not say that there is no anti-Army feeling in Slovenia. On the contrary. I said that anti-Army and anti-Serbian feeling is growing in some communities in Slovenia and that separatist tendencies are on the increase, but I said that we must proceed from the causes of these phenomena. And the causes are the trial against the four men in the Ljubljana military court, unitarist tendencies, attempts at majoritarianism and the practice of outvoting, and general attacks on the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia. We should nip these phenomena in the bud," stressed Smole.

Christmas Will Be a Public Holiday in Slovenia

Such a claim, however, directly contradicts the claims of the Slovene Executive Council, the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, and other republican organs which claim in a report sent to the Federal Executive Council [FEC] that anti-Army feeling is not on the increase and that Slovenia even has greater, better results than the others in the field of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, and that therefore the FEC report on attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army is inexpertly written, tendentious, and malicious.

This is probably only a segment of the pluralism which Smole stressed had not begun with the creation of new political alliances but much earlier in the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia for which the SAWP had a lot of understanding. The SAWP had supported many initiatives, from the ecological movement to the initiative for strengthening the law-governed state and a civil society. One of these initiatives was also the proclamation of Christmas as a public holiday which will soon be endorsed in the SR of Slovenia and made legal.

"We took account of the mood of citizens and the fact that this is not only a question of a religious but also a cultural holiday which most Slovenes celebrate anyway. However, we must make sure that there will be no discrimination of citizens," said Smole.

He also spoke about the SAWP initiative to establish general and direct elections for the member of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia—which was actually established and 88 percent of citizens went to the polls—and about the initiative to increase the scope of civil rights. These are being violated both in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia. According to Smole, political pluralism is probably not unfamiliar to anyone in Yugoslavia today.

It is a very positive thing that the awareness has matured that there is no economic reform without reform of the political system however there is also no political reform without pluralism and the competition of different ideas and programs. If any political side has a monopoly, this definitely leads to stagnation. The LC behaved for a long time like a party in power; there was no competition of ideas, and stagnation, political and economic crisis and lagging behind Europe arose. If we want development, we must open the way to political pluralism, said Smole, adding that numerous political alliances had been set up in Slovenia and that it should be analyzed in what way all this could be incorporated into the political system.

As regards political alliances, Smole stressed that the SAWP will endeavor to include most of the new alliances in its work and to reach a common agreement on all essential matters, just as an agreement was reached in Cankar Hall concerning events in Kosovo. However, much depended on what sort of programs would be offered by whom. For now the newly formed political alliances are generally adhering to the LCY program.

There are also points on which we do not agree. Thus, in the "May Declaration" which was put forward by other alliances, it states in the second point that Slovenia will decide whether it wants to stay in Yugoslavia or whether it will join with Europe. This really is along the line of separatism because we are an integral part of Yugoslavia and we care what it will be like. Certain tendencies toward unitarism, centralism, and even toward essentially changing the position of the republics and provinces exist in Yugoslavia.

We are therefore not prepared to live in a unitarist and centralist structure, in a structure where majoritarianism exists, or in a structure where the SR of Slovenia would be subjugated, and in which the federation would be interpreted as something superior. We want Yugoslavia to develop more quickly, along with greater respect for equality.

Smole pointed out the pointlessness of a debate on Yugoslavia as a federation or a confederation because Yugoslavia has the characteristics and elements of both. He warned about some unitarist amendments to the SFRY Constitution (schooling and culture) which Slovenia had not accepted and about the untenability of the creation of any "Yugoslav standards" because for Slovenia, for example, they would be too low and for some others perhaps too high. He added that tendencies toward majoritarianism and limiting the consensus were worrying and that the Slovene SAWP Conference will, as he stressed at a session of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, behave according to its demands and principles on every occasion when a decision, which does not suit it, is taken through a majority vote and not through a consensus.

The National Question

We will consider such conclusions invalid, stressed Smole. Whatever binds the SAWP Republican Conference must be agreed on and adopted with its agreement.

"We in Yugoslavia must get used to the fact that everyone can contribute to solving problems. Whenever a Slovene says something about Kosovo this cannot always be considered support for the counterrevolution. The problem of Kosovo has already lasted for quite a long time and the question is being asked of how permanent stability can be established in Kosovo. Not even the LCY platform of 1981 has given any results. In any case, Kosovo is not a party problem. I am also interpreted wrongly when I talk about emergency measures. I think that the emergency measures cannot solve the problems on a permanent basis and I will not get into the question of whether they are necessary in Kosovo or not. I think that the only correct way is to solve the problems with political, economic, and social measures. The fact is, for example, that the Albanians do not feel they are equal members of our Yugoslav community. The reasons should be discovered for this because Serbs and Montenegrins also feel unequal and are continuing to emigrate. This is obviously a question of a defect in our national policy and of the fact that we have not solved the national question. It is impossible to publicly talk about this today but expert consultations, even closed ones, could be organized in order to reexamine our policy in Kosovo. We will resolve nothing with public polemics."

At the end, Smole asked the journalists not to accept the claims that Cankar Hall involved an attack on the Serbian people and Serbia because this only involved support for a policy to resolve disputes in a democratic way.

"It has also been said of us recently that there are elements of counterrevolution in Slovenia and many people are asking the question of whether emergency measures should be introduced in Slovenia, too. One should not immediately conclude that this involves counterrevolution all because of some articles," said Smole in conclusion.

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